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U.S. Said to Plan New Effort to Seek A Lebanon Pullout

By Leslie H. Gelb

New York Times Service WASHINGTON - President Ronald Reagan has decided to begin a new, high-level effort to bring about the withdrawal of Israeli, Syrian and PLO forces from Lebanon, according to a senior admin-istration official.

The feeling in the White House is said to be that the negotiations on removing these forces from Lebanon have been lagging seri-ously, and that something dramatic is necessary to get the talks mov-

one possibility might be to send Philip C. Habib, the president's special Middle East envoy, back to the region. The judgment in the administration appears to be that Morris Draper, who took over the task of negotiating the withdrawals from Mr. Habib, lacks the status

necessary to do the job on his own.
Interviews with the senior administration official Saturday and with other administration officials since Tuesday's elections indicated that Mr. Reagan was unlikely to make any significant midterm changes in his foreign and defense

policies. No policy reviews are even being planned. Mr. Reagan is scheduled to have his first major meeting on the mili-tary budget next Thursday. Even with n new and more liberal Con-gress and a burgeoning federal def-icit, the senior official said, Mr. Reagan seems determined to try to retain all or most of his projected

\$250 billion in military outlays. According to the senior official, Mr. Reagan believes that his tough foreign policy toward the Soviet Union is inextricably tied to increased military spending, and the president does not want to alter

On Nov. 19, Mr. Reagan is scheduled to deliver an address dealing at least in part with arms control, which officials said would not include any new departures in his proposals on strategic nuclear forces or medium-range missiles in Europe. Negotiations are now under way with the Soviet Union in Geneva on these matters.

Under active consideration. however, are new initiatives toward the Soviet Union that are said to include measures to reduce the risk of nuclear war through warning of all missile tests and improvements in emergency commnnications facilities between Moscow and Washington.

Other proposals being readied would cover additional limits on underground nuclear testing. At present there are treaties banning nuclear testing in the atmosphere, under the sea and in space, and an unratified treaty limiting underground nuclear testing to no more than 150 kilotons, the equivalent of 150,000 tons of TNT.

Mr. Reagan spoke of initiatives. in these areas of arms control during his trip to Europe in June and said that proposals would be made

The senior administration official and other administration officials also indicated that they and Mr. Reagan believe his Middle East policy is correct and that be

New York Times Service

Sunday apparently overwhelming-

ly approved a new constitution that cautiously opens the way back

to democracy while giving the country's leader, General Kenan

Evren, a seven-year term as presi-

According to initial returns, the

vote was 93 percent in favor of the

constitution. The ves vote was gen-

erally highest in rural areas, but

even in certain urban districts of

Istanbul and Ankara, the early

takeover on Sept. 12, 1980, and a

continuation of his firm, paternal-

In Ankara, the capital, and sur-rounding villages, voting was gen-

crally orderly and there were no

signs of exceptional security mea-

sures. Police patrolled near polling

stations in the city, and gendarmes

Although foreign correspond-

ents observing the voting saw no

signs of pressure, they noted that envelopes containing blue hallots

marked with Turkish word mean-

ing "reject" could be distinguished

from those containing white bel-

lots with the word "accept." Some observers pointed out this could

have a certain importance in small

The first snow flurries of the

ear did not discourage voters,

did likewise in the countryside.

vote was 70 percent in favor. The constitutional referendum

strong vote of confidence for Genappears to have turned into a

eral Evren, who led the military

istic rule of law and order.

ANKARA - Turkish voters

intends to stay on course there as

The officials indicated, however, that there would be a tactical shift in emphasis for the time being, putting more time and energy on bringing about withdrawals of for-eign forces from Lebanon and leaving negotiations about Palestinian autonomy in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip nn the back

The officials did not talk about any new plan for breaking the negociating deadlock in Lebanon, but the senior official indicated that Israeli forces were likely to re-main in southern Lebanon far longer than originally projected by the State Department. Some State Department projections had all foreign forces being withdrawn in six weeks, with most estimates having all forces out by the end of the

There are now said to be about 8,000 Palestine Liberation Organization fighters, 30,000 Syrians and about 40,000 to 50,000 Israelis still

in Lebanon. One reason given by officials for the temporary tactical shift in em-phasis away from the West Bank talks is the lack of any sign of early movement by the parties to possi-ble talks about the West Bank King Hussein of Jordan and other moderate Arabs, along with the PLO, appear to have gone about as far as they will go for the time being. There is no further indication of a willingness to recognize Israel and to negotiate with the Is-raelis, as is called for by current

Reagan adminstration strategy. An even greater stumbling block to early progress, according to the officials, is the recently announced decision by Prime Minister Menachem Begin's government to continue building Israeli settlements in the West Bank. This bas and the recent decision of the settlements of the settlements of the settlements of the settlements. gered administration officials, and consideration is being given to tough measures to bring about a reversal of the Israeli stand.

The officials said that nothing would be done to jeopardize security assistance to Israel, but that there was increasing talk about re-ductions or delays in economic aid U.S. aid to Israel last year toraled about \$2.3 billion, of which about \$800 million was economic aid. Israel has asked for \$3.2 bil-

British Peace Force Sought Foreign Secretary Francis Pym asked by Lebanon to contribute troops to the international peace force now in Beirut. Reuters reported from London.

"A peacekeeping force is very important and we will think about it very carefully," Mr. Pym said during a television interview. "Whether we are able to contribute to it and wbether we think it right to use our strength in that way is something we will consider," he said.

Official sources in Beirut said Lebanon had approached Britain, the Netherlands, Sweden and South Korea with a view to asking them to contribute troops to the French and Italian units.

other members of the ruling mili-tary junta, wearing civilian clothes, confidently cast their votes in a

primary school near the presiden-

tial palace at Cankaya Sunday

first step back to parliamentary de-

mocracy. Next, according to the generals calendar, legislation for

the establishment of new political

parties must be drafted — the old parties have all been abolished —

and an electoral law promulgated.

General elections are to he held by the spring of 1984 at the latest.

The constitution, which was

widely criticized in the press until

all criticism of the key articles was

banned, provides for a strong pres-

ination of the old political leader-

ship. Two former prime ministers,

Suleyman Demirel and Bulent

Ecevit, have been barred from pol-

In view of the press ban, opposi-

tion to the constitution has been

exercised mainly by word of mouth and clandestine leaflets.

One such pamphlet, signed by a

heretofore unknown Union of

Young Kemalist Officers, in honor

of the founder of modern Turkey.

Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, called on

voters to reject the constitution, which they said was "the product

of a mentality that doesn't believe

General Evren waged a one-man

campaign in favor of the constitu-

tion across the country for the past

two weeks. He spoke in a populist manner and emphasized that the

constitution would prevent the

chaos and anarchy that preceded

ing places said they were voting

Most people questioned at poll-

or trust the people."

the military takeover.

ities for the next decade.

The new constitution marks the

morning but made no statements.

Early Vote Shows Turks

Approving Constitution



President Leonid I. Brezhnev, right of microphones, stood for two hours in cold weather atop the Lenin Mansoleum on Sun-day with Soviet military and Communist Party leaders at the Red Square military parade commemorating the Bolshevik Revolution. Andrei P. Kirilenko, once considered a candidate to succeed Mr. Brezimev, was not seen on the reviewing stand.

By Bernard Gwertzman New York Times Service
WASHINGTON — The United States, seeking to avoid a poblical rift in the Atlantic alliance, has dropped its refusal to resume ne-gotiations in Madrid on East-West

cooperation.

The Reagan administration had declined to resume the Madrid talks with the Soviet Union because of the continuing crackdown in Poland. But the Americans have now won allied consent to make any East-West accord conditional on the Russians accepting and living up to such measures as allowing free trade unions and ending

radio jamming.

A senior administration official said Saturday that the U.S. willingness to resume work on a final Madrid document was more tactical than substantive. He said it was inconceivable to the administration that the Russians would accept the terms that would be laid down by the NATO alliance, or that any document would be approved.

In fact, when the 35-nation Couference on Security and Cooperation in Europe resumes in Madrid on Tuesday, the United States and others are expected to repeat that even though they are willing to work on a final document, altering a position they took earlier in the year, there cannot be "business as

The conference has been recessed since March when the United States and its allies refused to continue negotiations on East-West cooperation because of the Polisb crisis. Whether the allies will maintain their unity once the session begins is uncertain, but a senior administration official said be was confident that the NATO

alliance would stand together on the Polish issue He said that the United States and the allies overcame their differences on what to do in Madrid during closed-door meetings in Oslo, Lisbon and Brussels. The sessions took place against the background of sharp strains in the alliance caused by the U.S. sanc-

aniance caused by the U.S. sanctions imposed on European companies involved in building the Siberian pipeline.

A parallel effort is now being made to produce an allied policy on East West engineer relations on East-West economic relations to enable Washington to drop the

sanctions. The United States and its allies had refused to continue negotiations on the final touches for an agreement that would have supple-mented the Helsinki Final Act of 1975 promoting security, cooperaoon and buman rights in Europe. As part of the Madrid document,

for a conference on disarmament in Europe devoted to measures to prevent surprise attack.

The senior administration official said that when Max M, Kampelman, the American ambassador to the Madrid conference, met with his NATO colleagues at a Madrid preparatory session in Osln in September, he found that the allies would no longer adhere to a policy of refusing to negotiate at Madrid on the concluding docu-

The West Germans said that because of domestic disarmament pressures they could not afford to appear to be refusing to negotiate a document that included a provi-sion for a disammament conference. This view was backed by other allies, the official said.

Even though Washington still believed in a policy of "no busi-ness as usual," Mr. Kampelman told the allies that if they agreed that Poland not be forgotten or ignored at Madrid, the United States would agree to resume negotiations, so long as the alliance pushed for tougher buman rights provisions on the document, including a call for free trade unions.

The United States did not want the stress at Madrid to be shifted by the Russians away from Poland toward a disarmament conference. The allies agreed to this approach, officials said, working out the provisions at an alliance meeting in Lisbon on Oct. 11 and confirm them two weeks later at NATO headquarters in Brussels.

Mr. Kampelman also had an unannounced meeting in Helsinki on Oct. 25 with his Soviet counterpart, Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoli G. Kovalev, to discuss American complaints on buman rights violations in the Soviet Un-

on, officials said. In their talks, the allies agreed to make the continued imposition of martial law in Poland a major topic of discussion in Madrid.

The amendments, officials said, cover the following topics: · Workers have a right to establish free trade unions that are recognized by their governments.

• Jamming of radio broadcasts

is to be stopped.

• Individuals in countries that signed the original Helsinki accord will not only have the right but also are to be encouraged to monitor violations of the agreement. The Soviet authorities have arrested or expelled those citizens who

set up monitoring groups.

• Clauses guaranteeing religinus freedom will be strengthened. Citizens will have access to foreign missions in their countries.

U.S. Now Will Resume Madrid East-West Talks

routinely stopped local residents from trying to enter embassies without official permission.

• The rights of journalists will be strengthened to prevent their notes and their materials from being seized.

The allies fully expect the Soviet Union to reject most if not all of the allied proposals, but believe that such a move will put the onus on the Russians, the official said. A senior administration official was expected to give his official approval to the proposals before Tuesday,

said that President Ronald Reagan

The official emphasized that there is agreement by the allies not to sign any document that is not "balanced," including both the security conference and strengthened buman rights. All agreements at Madrid are on the basis of consensus, meaning that any state can

Brezhnev Says Aggressors Face 'Crushing' Blow

By Dusko Doder

Washington Post Service
MOSCOW — President Leonid L. Brezhnev declared Sunday that his country would deal "a crushing retaliatory strike" to any aggres-

The Soviet leader, speaking at a Kremlin reception shortly after an annual show of military power in Red Square, added that he believed Russian might and vigilance would cool "the hot beads of some

would cool "the hot beads of some imperialist politicians."
He made the remarks after his defense minister, Marshal Dmitri Ustinov, opened the dazzling parade by accusing the Reagan administration of having "unleashed a political, ideological and economic offensive against socioliem"

nomic offensive against socialism" and nf raising its "military prepa-ration to an unprecedented level." In his speech to Soviet dignitaries and foreign diplomats attend-ing a reception in honor of the 65th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revulution, Mr. Brezhnev said that "it is not the tradioon of our

party and our people to retreat." "We shall do our utmost to see to it that the proponents of mili-tary adventurism should never catch unawares the land of the So-

viets and that the potential aggres-sor should know that a crushing retaliatory strike will inevitably be in for him," he said. The U.S. ambassador, Arthur A. Hartman, was among foreign dip-lomats attending the Kremlin re-ception although be and most other envoys of NATO countries did not attend the military parade in Red Square, to protest the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

However, the amhassadors of Turkey, Greece, Denmark and Norway did not boycott the military parade this year.

While Mr. Brezhnev reaffirmed his commitment to detente and arms control, the tone of his speech was unusually belligerent and was taken by diplomats as another indication of a new, tough

anti-American line in the Kremlin. The Soviet leader stood for two bours on top of the Lenin Mausoleum despite freezing temperatures and a biting northern wind to pre-side over the Red Square display

of his country's power. Frnm the lineup of his fur-hatted Politburo colleagues atop the mausoleum it was clear that Kon-stantin U. Chernenko and Yuri V.

Andropov are currently the key figures in the leadership after Mr. Brezhnev. Missing was the Politburo vet-eran Andrei P. Kirilenko, 76, which Western analysts took as confirmation he was no longer among the top leadership and no longer a candidate to succeed Mr.

Brezhnev. United Press International reported.] Mr. Brezhnev, 75, wore tinted glasses against the glare of a bright winter sun as he watched units marching 20 abreast, fullowed by tanks, armored personnel carriers and vehicles carrying rockets. He looked fit and was drinking occa-

sionally from a paper cup.
Western military specialists said that no new bardware was shown, with the exception of a modified armored personnel carrier with a new turret that was first sighted

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Carrillo Quits as Chief Of Spain Communists

By Brian Mooney

MADRID - After a public career of 50 years, Santiago Carrillo has stepped down as secretary-gen-eral of the Spanish Communist Party because of the party's disastrous performance in last month's

by the party's policy-making Central Committee with Gerardo Iglesias, 37, a militant from the northern mining region of Asturias who like his predecessor follows a Party officials said that 64 of the

He was replaced Sunday night

104 committee members voted for Mr. Iglesias, who had been nominated for the post by Mr. Carrillo. Three members opposed the nomination, 19 were absent, 15 abstained and three votes were blank.

The choice of Mr. Iglesias surprised some party insiders, who said the move could be a stopgap measure. Many expected that Nicolas Sartorius, the deputy secre-tary-general who has long been regarded as the heir apparent, would eventually emerge as secretary-

Opposition to Mr. Iglesias col-lapsed when Mr. Sartorius, an opponent of Mr. Carrillo and former deputy leader of the party, withdrew from the race despite backing from the powerful trade union fac-

tion on the Central Committee. Mr. Carrillo's resignation fol-lowed the party's disastrous results in the recent general elections, and it closed a chapter in Spanish poli-

The 67-year-old Communist was the only survivor of the 1936-39 civil war to be still in charge of a major Spanish party. Originally an orthodox Soviet-style Marxist, he eventually became an advocate of the Eurocommunist policy of inde-

Party officials said that Mr. Carrillo submitted his "irrevocable" resignation at a meeting of the par-ty's Executive Committee sarily Saturday after specialry, illed for

They said that none of the 24 members of the Executive Com-mittee, the Spanish equivalent of a Politburo, actually demanded Mr. Carrillo's resignation. But they had all spoken criocally of the party's performance in the elections of Oct. 28, which were won convincingly by the Socialist Party.
The Communists won only 3.8

percent of the votes and were reduced to four from 23 deputies in Congress, the legislative house of the Cortes.

Mr. Carrillo acknowledged at a news conference that he was resigning partly because of the pary's electoral performance. "If the results had not been so negative, 1 would have stayed on as secretarypeneral," he said Mr. Carrillo said he planned to

remain as a deputy in the Cortes and maintain his posicions on the Executive and Central committees. Party opponents said that the leader's tactics and personal be-havior were responsible for the electoral defeat. They accused Mr. Carrillo of refusing to practice the internal democracy that he professed to accept outside the party.

Mr. Carrillo's great achievement was to bring the party back into the mainstream of Spanish democracy after its defeat in the civil war. The party remained in exile and underground during the rule of Franco, who died in 1975.

Forced into exile after the civil war, Mr. Carrillo tried inioally to organize guerrilla resistance to Franco from a base in France. He then began years of exile that took him to the Soviet Union, the United States, Argentina and Algeria. In later years he was expelled from



Santiago Carrillo

France and West Germany for Asturias region. By 1978, he was

Mr. Carrillo became secretarygeneral of the party in exile in 1960 and returned to Spain clandestinely in 1976. The Communist Party was re-legalized in 1977, and a few months later Mr. Carrillo was elected to the Cortes.

Mr. Iglesias was born in the Asturian industrial town of Micres and began work at 12 as a building laborer. By the time be went into the pits as a coal miner at 15 he already a Communist Party militant

He was detained for anti-regime activities at 16, and by 18 he was elected a member of the regional committee of the Communist Party in Asturias In 1966 he was jailed again for

his part in a miners' strike in pro-test the closure of mines in his area. He spent five years in jail. Freed in 1971, be went back to

the struggle against Franco, becoming the leader of the Commu-nist-led underground trade union, the Workers' Commission, in the



Gerardo Iglesias

outspoken opposition to the Fran- "regional party leader in Asturias co regime." and a member of the party's Central Committee.

■ Basque Fighters' Statement Basque guerrillas ruled out softening their political demands Sun-day and vowed to continue to fight the Spanish state whatever the government in power. Reuters reported from Bilbao.

The statement published in the Basque nationalist daily Egin followed the shooting Thursday of Spain's top military commander, General Victor Lago Roman, It said the killing was aimed at breaking the blind attitude of the state toward Basque national liber-

Hopes of combating the "revo-tinnary taxes" demanded by the FTA from banks and companies in the Basque country were raised when French police seized important documents carried hy two ETA members arrested in southern France Saturday. Refusal to pay the levy has led to bombings of banks and kidnappings or killings of company directors.

INSIDE

■ Iraq said that Iranian forces and that heavy fighting was Page 2.

A U.S. federal appeals court has ruled that the National Security Agency may in-tercept messages between U.S. citizens and people overseas and then provide summaries to the FBI.

■ U.S. election analysts say the pendulum swung back toward the center last week. Voters gave Democrats important gains, which, with victories by women and minorities, seemed to add up to a call for adjustments by the Reagan

administration.

■ In Argentina,the military government is seeking to reach an accord with the country's political leaders on how to deal with the deaths and disappearances of the 1970s, when the military was fighting

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A special report describes The Netherlands. Page 7S.

CLA Contends 4 Million in Soviet Union Do Forced Labor First U.S. Study on Prison Camps Doubts Charges of 'Slave' Work on European Pipeline

ident, strict limitations on rights and freedoms, and the virtual elim-By Bernard Gwertzman New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Central Intelligence Agency estimates that about four million Soviet citizens are being compelled to undertake some kind of "forced labor." Of that number, about 10,000 are said by the CIA to be political prison-

In a study released Friday night, the agency said it could not substantiate reports from Europe alleging that "slave" labor was being used to build the natural gas pipe line from Siberia to Western Eu-

Congress asked the State Department in September to investigate the charges in the construc-tion of the pipeline. The department responded with a long report, the centerpiece of which was the CIA study. The Reagan administration has

been pursuing an energetic cam-paign to widen the public's percep-tion of practices that would dis-

ly in Western Europe.

On the specific question of the use of forced labor in pipeline construction, the report said that such workers have been "an integral part of pipeline construction work crews in the Ukraine, Kazakhstan and the central Russian Republic."

They are primarily parolees and probationers and have been used in unskilled jobs such as cleaning forests, draining swamps and preparing roads, the report said. But in response to the assertions by a West German human rights

group and others, the CIA said

that "large-scale use of forced la-

borers on the export pipeline is unlikely because many of the jobs require special skills." Boris Shcherbina, the Soviet official in charge of the construction, said in August: "To work at such projects, one should be an expert at one's job, know well its specific

features, be a wizard with ma-chines, which sometimes are

credit the Soviet Union, particularunique and moreover used in severe natural conditions." In September, Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger said "the

evidence has been mounting that the Soviet Union may be using slave labor" on the pipeline. The evidence is not conclusive," he said at a Georgetown University con-ference. But the available evidence is profoundly troubling and some have found it persuasive. The new report was the U.S.

government's first study of the Soviet labor camp system. However, in 1974, The New York Times undertook its own study on the subject because of the publication of Alexander I. Solzhenitsyn's "The Gulag Archipelego," which de-tailed the camp system from 1918 to 1956 under Lenin and Stalin. In The Times study, it was noted

that the CIA then estimated that 2.4 million to 2.5 million Soviet citizens were in prison camps. The estimates in the new study are consistent with its 1974 estimates. It said that about 2 million

Soviet citizens were confined, 85 percent in "forced labor camps" and the rest in prisons. It said that there were now more than 1,100 such labor camps. In 1974, experts estimated that there were about

The total of four million laborers was arrived at, the agency explained, because an additional 1.5 million Soviet citizens have been convicted of crimes for which they could have been sent to camps or prisons, but have instead been given probation with "compulsory involvement in labor. Another \$00,000 citizens have

been paroled from confinement but are obligated to perform forced labor for the remainder of their terms, the CIA said. Forced laborers work "in a broad variety of expressive activities," the agency said, "including manufacturing, construction, logg-ing and wood processing, mining, producing building materials and

Under Stalin, the report estimat-

ed, the number of people held in the camps reached a peak of perhaps 15 million in 1947. After Stalin's death in 1953, the camps were drastically reduced, but the numbers began to rise again in the

The agency said that in recent years more than 100 camps, or 10 percent of the total, have been involved in construction activities. with the heaviest concentration in Kazakhstan and central Asia. It said that forced laborers were

used for the clearing and construction of new towns, such as Shevchenko, a city on the Caspian Sea with a nuclear-powered desalination plant, and Navoi, a petrochemical center in central Asia. near a large deposit of natural gas.

About 350 camps are engaged in logging, sawmilling and related ac-tivides, it said, and 50 camps are

ing materials, such as bricks.

engaged in mineral extraction. There are only about 20 agricultural camps, the study said, and 60 a leftist insurgency. camps devoted to producing build-

who lined up dutifully at the polls.

Voting is not compulsory in Turkey, but those who did not go to the polls this time will not he allowed to vote for the General Evren and the four yes to the constitution.

Iraq Says Iran Has Crossed Disputed Border; 'Fierce Battles' Are Reported

that Iranian forces had penetrated Iraqi territory to a depth of one to five kilometers (up to three miles) oo a narrow front in the region of

"Fierce battles are raging now," a military spokesman was quoted as telling the Iraqi news agency. "and the Iraqi field command is taking oecessary measures to coofront the invaders, destroy their forces and kick them over the bor-

Referring to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeioi, Iran's leader, the spokesman said: "Khomeini's clique will reap nothing but failure, as bas happened in previous bat-

Iraq says it has repelled all pre-vious Iranian attempts to cross the border since it announced it had withdrawn from Iranian territory

Iran maintains that Iraq has not pulled out of all the territory it oc-cupied at the start of the Gulf war in September 1980, and Iranian forces have recaptured a large cbunk of land taken by Iraq in the latest offensive.

The border between the two countries has never beeo satisfac-torily delineated in all places, de-spite a 1975 treaty that resolved the issue in principle.

Both sides have reported heavy lighting in the latest Iranian offensive, which began Monday west of the Iranian city of Dizful.

Iran Eager to Press On R.W. Apple Jr. of The New York Times reported earlier from Musian,

With most Iraqi forces having been driven back across the border

ger in press on into Iraq, just a mile west of this devastated vil-

"Eventually, we must have our revenge," one field commander

But the officers apparently have not been given permission to do so by the government, even though Iran says its offensive has eliminated all but a few Iraqi enclaves on Iranian soil. The Iranian troops are dug in on and behind high ground in Musian, awaiting counterattacks and cooducting reconnaissance patrnls.

Ayatollah Khomeini and his disciples seem disinclined to attempt a repetition of last summer's unsuccessful thrust toward Basra. The next step may well be an attempt to liberate the Iraqi-held areas near Khorramshahr and Fekkeh, south of here, and near Nafte-Shah, far to the north.

Iranian tanks, tank transporters, trucks, jeeps, buildozers and heli-copters shuttle back and forth in this area, sending clouds of dust into the air above the hills, the plain and the pieturesque buttes and valleys carved by the Meimeh and Douvrij rivers.

The Iranians say they have cleared 210 square miles (546 square kilometers) of Iraqi troops, advancing for about six miles alnng a 35-mile front leading southeast from the town of Dehlo-ran. They also say they bave cap-tured intact 45 tanks or armored cars, including several Brazilian-made Cascavel vehicles.

A new battalioo of the Revolutionary Guards Corps, which gets all Iraqi booty, is to be formed to

in the past week, some Iranian of-ficers said Saturday they were ea-ger in press on into Iraq, just a ding vehicles of all sorts, despite was freeing the region east of the their sketchy training, but they are nnt involved with planes or heli-

> The corps is now said to number to 150,000 men, most of them in their 20s. They wear rumpled, often mismatched fatigues and tennis shoes, and many of them tie red scarves bearing Islamic slogans around their heads. Most have had only three months' training. But they are fiercely nationalistic and idealistic and seemingly fearless. They are integrated with regular army units during combat, but the partnership appears unequal.

At a briefing Friday, for exam-ple, it was a guard in his early 20s who did the talking; a regular cap-tain simply muttered at the conclusion that he had nothing to add.

The guards are an unsmiling lot given to frequent chanting. They given to frequent chanting. They wear no insignia of rank and never salute, and they talk frequently of their willingness to be "martyrs." On their left breast pockets, they wear a blue and gold patch that shows a globe, an arm and a Soviet-made AK-47 assault rifle — a symbol, one 23-year-old explained, of their eagerness to fight overseas for the oppressed of the world."

Riding motorcycles, the guards take on tanks with RPG-7 antitank rockets. They also attack boldly across mine fields, as do members of the Basij, a paramili-tary organization made up mostly of teen-agers. A 15-year-old told reporters at Ein-e-Khosb that his parents "believe that I was a gift from God, so if I'm killed I'd be a gift to God,"

The most important Iranian ac-

Africa

offensive from the threat of artillery attack. Mucb of the area had been liberated in March but, with their guns emplaced on the heights, the Iraqis had been able to shell towns and highways at will.

Iranian commanders asserted, and Iraqi war prisoners confirmed. that the fighting took place entirely on Iranian soil, despite the con-tentions of President Saddam Hussein of Iraq that his troops had pulled out of Iran. Burned hulks of Iraqi T-55 tanks, built in the Soviet Union, litter the harsh, arid flatlands near the Iraqi border not far

The equivalent of three Iranian brigades, more than 10,000 men, were involved in the offensive, which began Monday night. Colonel Mansurr Jalaly, operations officer at Iranian beadquarters near the village of Ein-e-Khosh, said his losses had been "lighter than expected." The Iranians end they pected." The Iranians said they had downed 10 Iraqi planes, killed or wounded more than 3,500 Iraqi troops and taken almost 1,750

The prisoners were assembled Saturday on a gravel parade ground at the big Vahdati air base at Dizful, about 65 miles east of here, for press interviews. One of the prisoners, a lieutenant colonel who commanded a battalion, said his men had been surrounded in the rain and in the dark and overwhelmed. He said the Iranian attack had been "massive, well-organized and precise."

His unit had been sent into Iran to hold the Bayat oilfield, the Ira-nian part of which lies around Hill 400 near this village. It has a ca-



month's major offensive near Dizful, Iran, on the parade

pacity of 25,000 barrels a day. They built reinforced bunkers, laid The air base bears all the mines and unrolled yards of coiled barbed wire, the colonel added, but were unable to resist a com-

ned attack by Revolutionary Guards infantry and armor.

Despite reports in the West that
the Iranian Air Force was all but grounded because of a lack of spare parts, American-built F-5s fly regular sorties from Dizful.

By Edward Walsh

Westington Post Service
JERUSALEM — The Israeli
Army allowed Lebanese Christian
militia units to bring in fresh
troops and restock their ammuni-

tion supplies in the Sabra and

hallmarks of its former U.S. advisers: a buge sign, in English, pro-claiming it "the home of the fight-ers;" officers who speak in American military slang, and fancy guest quarters, known as "the White House," with tiled bathrooms coutaining sunken tubs.

With its next rows of officers' quarters, palm trees, November sunshine and gas stations labeled

Israeli Army Allowed Phalangists to Resupply

POL. for Petroleum, Oil and Lu-bricants, the base might be in Tex-wall standing. as or California. Only the insignia on the C-130s, the F-5s and the Chinonk and Huey helicopters are

oners available Saturday for interviews with foreign reporters

Many villages have been de-stroyed. Musian, which has a pop-ulation of 5,000 before the start of the war, oow has a population of zero. Only three or four houses

dill

The region's economy formerly depended on dairy herds and fruit trees grown with the help of imigation. Both activities have been ruined, and the pipeline leading from the Bayat field has been severed in several places. There is no sign of nonmilitary activity for mile after

Upper Volta's Leader Deposed, Radio Says

Reners

ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast — A ber 1980, deposing Upper Volta's democratically elected president, sangonie Lamizana.

The radio said Sunday that the deposing Upper Volta's democratically elected president, sangonie Lamizana. nel Saye Zerbo in a predawn coup Sunday, accusing him of turning members of the military into "agents of terror," state radio said in Ouagadougou, the capital.

The oew Provisional People's - Salvatioo Council immediately closed the borders and imposed a dusk-to-dawn curfew, the radio said. Telex and telephone communications between Upper Volta and the outside world were sus-

In decrees put out by the council, all military and police personoel were ordered to support the coup. It also appealed for popular support and called on people to re-port for work Monday.

Neither the name of the new

council's chairman nor the fate of Colooel Zerbo was immediately.

Upper Volta's two international airports, at Ouagadougou and the former colonial capital Bobo-Dioulasso, were closed Sunday, airport sources in Abidjan said. Colonel Zerbo took power in a

U.S.-Japan Treaty Reportedly Loses Chinese Support

TOKYO - Reflecting a recent Chinese-Soviet conciliation, China has retracted its support for the U.S.-Japanese Security Treaty of 1951, directed at countering Soviet attacks, news reports from Beijing said Sunday. A Japanese newspaper reported

that the change was disclosed Friday when a group of Japanese visitors met with two members of the Chinese Communist Party's poli-cy-making Politburo, Liao Chang-zhi and Wan Li. The delegation was led by Heishiro Ogawa, a former ambassador to China.

Mr. Ogawa said Mr. Liao had remarked that "China has never opposed or supported the U.S.-Ja-pan Security Treaty." The comment was seen as a retraction of the Chinese leader Deng Xiaop-ing's statement in 1978 that "strengthening Japan's defense ea-pability and the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty is a natural course.

In September, Soviet officials held border talks with China in Beijing for the first time in more agreed the talks will resume next

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colooel was denounced as a lying demagogue in a proclamation by

the people, and turned the military into agents of terror of the Voltaic The radio, monitored in Abid-

tional Recovery and Progress had been dissolved. All army officers in the capital had been ordered to report for a meeting later Sunday,

campaigns, was faced with a worsening political and economic crisis before the coup.

own coup two years ago, issued him with an ultimatum last May, telling him to resign within six to nine months if he failed to resolve the nation's problems.

African country of six million with few natural resources, depends on international aid and the remittances home of more than one miltion citizens working in neighboring Ivory Coast. Per capita income is about \$200 a year and the aid Upper Volta receives, mainly from France and the United States, is greater than the country's annual

capable of strengthening the econ-omy and responded to discootent with increasingly repressive measures. A year ago he banned strikes by the country's trade union movement and, in April, suspended 100 civil servants who stopped work in protest against the unioo ban.

Zerbo of "unjustified repression of workers and students through deportations, arrests and suppression

(Continued from Page 1)

earlier this year in Afghanistan. Also displayed for the first time in

a parade was an SA-8 surface to

In contrast to previous years,

some U.S. correspondents based in

Moscow were denied permission to

Marsbal Ustinov, who was the

only speaker at the parade, talked

about the oeed to strengthen Sovi-

et military defenses against the

West. In previous years he avoided

specific mention of the United States and talked instead of the

threatening actions of "imperial-

ists." But this year, the defense

minister singled out Americans for

having "raised their level of mili-

tary preparations to an unprece-dented level."

cal, ideological and economic of-

Hostages' Parents Plead

For Mercy in Zimbabwe

HARARE, Zimbabwe - Parents

of six young foreign tourists seized

by gunmen more than three months ago will broadcast an ap-

peal for mercy throughout Zim-babwe this week.

The appeal was suggested by the

lia, whose nationals were kid-napped by political dissidents in

United States, Britain and Austra-

the province of Matabeleland oo July 23. The gunmen left a note

with a series of political demands

but nothing more bas been beard.

They have unleashed a politi-

attend this year's parade.

Brezhnev Says Aggressors

Face 'Crushing' Retaliation

the new council. "He betrayed the confidence of

masses," the radio said. jan, said Colonel Zerbo's 30-mem-ber Military Committee for Na-

Colonel Zerbo, 50, a veteran of France's Indochina and Algerian

A shadowy Armed Forces Council, which existed before his

Upper Volta, a landlocked West

Colonel Zerbo's junta proved in-

The council that apparently top-pled him Sunday accused Colonel

Soviet Bombers Called New Threat in Pacific

Koudouge.i. OUAGADOUGOU

By Drew Middleton

IVORY COBST

New York Times Service NEW YORK - The Soviet Union is continuing to expand its mil-itary power in the Pacific, accord-ing to senior officers in the U.S. Navy, with Soviet Backfire bombers adding "a oew dimension to the threat to sea lanes in the area."

Admiral Robert Long, com-mander of American forces in the construction, Western intelligence medium-range supersonic planes, were flying missions from the Kamchatka Peninsula in the Soviet Far East and from Cam Ranh Bay be launched. From their present bases, he

said, Backfires could attack Midway, Guam and the Philippines and return without refueling.

In addition, Admiral Long said, a third of the Soviet Unioo's SS-20 mobile missiles have now been de-ployed in the Far East. He said that the missiles, some of which are within range of Japan, were armed with 250 nuclear warheads.

Also, intelligence reports reaching Western capitals suggest that the Soviet Union is expanding construction of major surface ships and that it intends to build an air-

fensive against socialism." be said.

al situation "continues to aggra-vate" as a result of Washingtoo's

policies promoting "the arms race, impudently interfering in the af-

fairs of other countries and facili-

tating outhreaks of military con-

flicts in various parts of the

"Under these conditions," he

said "the Communist Party and

the Soviet government are taking

oecessary measures to consolidate

the country's defenses and en-hance the vigilance of Soviet peo-

Chinese officials toasted the

65th anniversary of the Bolshevik

Revolution nn Saturday, capping

the warmest celebration with the

Russians in Beijing since the 1960s, United Press International

Culture Minister. Zhu Muzhi

and Deputy Foreign Minister Qian

Quehen led a delegation of officials

China celebrates the anniversary

of the revolution every year, but

this year it was marked for the first

time in 20 years with a reception

for the Russians at the Great Hall

The gesture Thursday came two

weeks after China and the Soviet

Union held their first official meet-

to the Soviet Embassy to observe

■ Chinese Toast Revolution

reported from Beijing.

the anniversary.

He charged that the internation-

tons (54,000 to 63,000 metric tons) that will probably be driven by nu-

Rear Admiral Summer Shapiro, the navy's director of intelligence, told a subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee several months ago that he expected such a ship to be operational by 1989.

Pacific and Indian oceans, said the sources say the third ship of the Kiev class, the Novorossiisk, has begun sea trials and the fourth, and probably final, one is about to

A guided-missile cruiser armed with a cruise missile with a range of 300 nautical miles is also reported about to begin sea trials. A cruise missile is a winged weapon powered by jet engines that flies like a plane and can be guided to its target.

Two new classes of guided-missile destroyers are said to have completed sea trials. The Sovremenny, the lead ship of one elass, reportedly carries two 130mm guns, the largest put on a Soviet ship in nearly 30 years, as well as new anu-ship cruise mis-

The first of the Udaloy class of guided-missile destroyers is also reported to have completed sea tri-als. Western naval intelligence experts say they believe the class is to provide the principal anti-subma-rine warfare element in Soviet task forces. The new Helix ASW helicopter is expected to be the ships' principal weapon against subma-

Western intelligence sources re-port that there has been an increase in the number of Soviet naval shipyards and that their equipment has improved steadily.

Soviet emphasis on submarines appears to have taken on a new significance with the deployment of the first ship of the Oscar class, which is said to carry 24 SS-N-19

The Typboon class of ouclearmissile submarines is considered to be the most important reinforcement of the naval nuclear armory. Intelligeoce sources say that Typboons, which are armed with the SS-N-20 missile, would be able to reach targets in the United States without leaving home wa-

Naval and air centers have been acquired in Ethiopia and South Yemen, and Soviet reconnaissance planes fly missions from these pases over task forces of the United States and other members of the Atlantic alliance in the Indian

In Africa, Luanda, Angola, has replaced Conakry, Guinea, as the principal Soviet naval and air base.

EC Leader Arrives in Nepal

KATMANDU, Nepal — Gaston Thorn, president of the European Community Commission, arrived Sunday on the first visit to Nepal by a commission president and was greeted by Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa.

hour and a half in private. His public testimony raised anew the question of why the Israelis, alert-

Chatila refugee camps of West Beirut during the second day of the massacre, despite numerous reports of heavy civilian casualties, a senior Israeli Army officer said Brigadier General Amos Yaron, the commander of all Israeli forces in the Beirnt area, said be authorized the resupply and troop rota-tion even after he and a superior,

Major General Amir Dron, had ordered a halt to the militias' activities in the camps because of their uneasiness over the militiamen's behavior. But General Yaron, testifying before the state judicial board of inquiry that is investigating the September massacre of bundreds of Palestinian refugees in the camps, said that by then he pre-sumed that most civilians had fled

from the area.

General Yaron testified for an hour in public before the three-

ed as early as the night of Sept. 16 to the possibility of heavy civilian casualties, allowed the Phalangist militia units to remain in the camps until the morning of Sept. General Yaron is the first Israeli

officer to mention publicly the resupply and troop rotation, which said involved the replacement about 100 Phalangist soldiers with fresh troops on the afternoon of Sept. 17. Other witnesses, including Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, have emphasized that Israel prevented the Phalangists from bringing reinforcements into the camps, suggesting that this showed an effort to restrain the militia.

Mr. Sharon and others, inclod-ing General Yaron on Sunday, have maintained that they had no clear evidence of the massacre until after the Phalangist units left the camps Sept. 18.

Before the militia units entered Sabra and Chatila on Sept. 16, General Yaron said, he warned them against killing civilians.

General Yaron said that on the

U.S. Expected to Seek New Settlement Freeze

By John M. Goshko

WASHINGTON - The latest U.S.-Israeli dispute over Jewish settlements in occupied Arab terri-tories is described by U.S. officials as "setting the stage" for a strong new American call for a freeze oo settlements when President Ronald Reagan meets Prime Min-ister Menachem Begin of Israel here Nov. 19.

Deputy Prime Minister David Levy of Israel announced last week that the government planned to proceed soon with establishing five of the eight settlements it anthorized on the West Bank in Septem-

In reply, a U.S. statement Thursday criticized Israel's settlements activity on the West Bank. It chastised Israeli actions as "most unhelpful," and questioned whether Israel is willing "to abide by the promise" of UN Security Council Resolution 242 "that terri-

tory will be exchanged for peace."
On Friday, another Israeli official, Deputy Agriculture Minister Michal Dekal, told the Israeli state radin that the five settlements mentioned by Mr. Levy are part of a master plan calling for creation of 20 oew communities in the West Bank and Gaza during the coming

U.S. officials said afterward that they would have no further com-ment, because the statement Thursday left no doubts about the U.S. stance. But they said that un-derlying Washington's tough talk is Mr. Reagan's determination to give fresh impetus to his Sept. 1 Mideast peace initiative. Lack of progress on that initiative is due in part to Mr. Begin's vehement opposition.

A key element of the Reagan proposal calls for a moratorium oo new settlements, and U.S. officials acknowledged that the president is under heavy pressure from Arab governments to demonstrate that the United States can use its influence to make Mr. Begin more flexi-

For that reason, the U.S. statement on Thursday was aimed not only at Jerusalem but also at sueb Arab capitals as Amman, where Jordan's King Hussein is involved in complex efforts to test whether he can muster sufficient Arab backing to enter the peace talks over the future status of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Since the Reagan plan calls for these territories to gain eventual independence "in association with Jordan," Hussein's participation is critical to U.S. bopes.

The U.S. officials noted that the increased Israeli pronouncements in recent days about settlements are regarded in Washington as an attempt by Mr. Begin to signal his rejection of a freeze. The officials said they believe that Mr. Begin plans to use the White House meeting to try to convince Mr. Reagan that the Mideast initiative.

should be dropped. should be dropped.

At past meetings, including one in Washington in June at the height of the Lebanon war, Mr. Reagan did not - as had been expected - get tough with Mr. Begin, and instead was deferential to the Israeli leader. But, the sources said, if Mr.

Reagan's initiative is to retain credibility in the Arab world and show any hope for movement, he appears to have oo choice this time other than to try to force the issue over settlements. In the past, Mr. Begin has resisted every U.S. call for a moratori-

um oo settlements and has taken as encouragement Mr. Reagan's initial refusal to term the settle-ments "illegal," as past U.S. ad-ministrations have. That is something the Israeli

leader seems certain to remind the president when they meet. In September, Mr. Levy, who also is housing minister, described the decision on the eight settlements as Israel's "answer" to Mr. Reagan's call for a freeze. According to a U.S. official, that was regarded as "sticking it in the eye of the president," and be added that the administration has been looking far an opportunity to reply in a manner that can be viewed as a di-rect response to Mr. Levy's re-

It was against this background that the latest U.S.-Israeli dispute arose. Initially, many diplomatic observers were puzzled, because the exchanges between Washing-ton and Jerusalem involve settlements that bad been proposed earlier and technically are not "new However, a senior U.S. official insisted Friday, "If there hadn't been a provocation, there wouldn't

have been a statement by us." Israelis to Protest to U.S.

Mr. Begin has instructed Moshe Arens, Israel's ambassador to the United States, to protest the U.S. coodemnation of settlement coo-

struction. The Associated Press re-

ported on Sunday. Israel Radio quoted Mr. Begin as rejecting the U.S. demand to freeze settlement development. Mr. Begin told his cabinet that the settlement issue was not oegotiable, the radio said.

ble of "disorganized reports" that 120, or 300 or 45 civilians and Palgoing on." One of the key events the comestinian fighters had been killed. He said, however, that he did not act on any of the reports or inform his superior officers because they

were impossible to verify.

General Drori, the Israeli
Army's oorthern commander, testified that be ordered a halt to the Phalangist operation in the camps late on the morning of Sept. 17 because of a "bad feeling" conveyed to him by General Yaron.

According to General Yaron's testimony, it was sometime after General Drori issued the halt order that he authorized the ammunition resupply and troop rotation. Pressed by the commission on why he did this after hearing reports of civilian casualties, he said, "Well,

mission is investigating is a meeting at 4:30 P.M. Sept. 17 among Phalangist commanders, Generals Yaron and Drori and Lieutenant General Rafael Eitan, the Israel Army's chief of staff, at which General Eitan authorized the militia units to remain in the refugee

camps until the following morning. General Yaron acknowledged that the subject of civilian deaths came up during the meeting and said that General Eitan, after being assured they were not excessive, "congratulated" the Phalangist w commanders on their performance and and agreed to give them an Israeli tractor to "destroy illegal buildings" in the camps.

WORLD BRIEFS

Airlines Give Pessimistic Report

GENEVA (Reuters) - The world's airlines, hard hit by recession, are threatened with bankruptcy, massive subsidies or endless debts, the international Air Transport Association said in a report released Monday. The industry's overall losses for this year and next probably will be above the \$1.9 billion and \$2.1 billion previously forecast, the group said

in its 1982 annual report. The association's director-general, Knut Hammarskjold, wrote that if present trends continue, as now appears likely, operating costs and debts could outstrip the assets and revenues of the 120 members by late 1983. This would give the industry a negative overall net value.

Egypt Cites Readiness to Aid Arabs

CAIRO (AP) — Egypt has renewed its offer of a reconciliation with its Arab critics and said it was prepared to aid any Arab country against In a policy statement to the parliament on Saturday, Prime Minister

Fuad Mohieddin also called on the United States to continue its active role toward an Arab-Israeli peace settlement. He said President Ronald Reagan's Mideast peace initiative provided a new momentum to this Egypt is keen oo opening its arms to the Arab world and invites its

leaders to take concerted action to solve existing problems." Mr. Mohieddin said. "Egypt is implementing a long-range strategic program to develop its armed forces; raising their efficiency in organization, armament and training, so that they continue to be an effective force in the defense of the homeland and in support of any Arab country exposed to aggression," he said, noting that Egypt has provided military aid to lare in its war with Iran

Trudeau to Visit France for Talks

PARIS (Reuters) - Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau of Canada will arrive in France Monday for talks that diplomatic sources say should be free of tensions that have marked relations for 15 years. Mr. Trudeau's three days of talks with Mr. Mauroy and President François Mitterrand are to include trade issues and Canada's participation in the production of a new Airbus project with France, West German Canada's participation in the production of a new Airbus project with France, West German Canada and Canada's participation in the production of a new Airbus project with France, West German Canada and many, Spain and Britain.

Madagascar Holds Presidential Vote

ANTANANARIVO, Madagascar (AP) — Large oumbers of votes cast their ballots Sunday in a presidential election in which the incombent, Didier Ratsiraka, was favored to defeat Monja Jaona, the leader of the Madagascar Independence Party.

Mr. Jaona has blamed Mr. Ratsiraka for the economic crisis in Madagascar Particularly the header.

gascar, particularly the lack of necessities in local markets. He has also accused the government of fostering nepotism, corruption, the black market and insecurity. Mr. Ratsiraka, who has been in office since 1975, has responded by saying that only the continuation of his revolution will enable the country to recover.

Unlike many governments in the Third World, Madagascar has a pluralistic political system. Seven parties joined Mr. Ratsiraka's National Front for the Defense of the Revolution, but they retain their separate identities. He controls them by persuasion rather than orders. Five of the parties backed his candidacy.

Soviet Plane Is Hijacked to Turkey

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches ANKARA — Three armed East Germans hijacked a Soviet airliner Sunday and forced it to land at the Black Sea port of Sinop before surrendering to Turkish security forces, the Anatolian news agency reported. It said the men asked for political asylum.

The agency said a crew member and two passengers aboard the Acroflot jet were injured during a scuffle that broke our when the hijackers took over the plane. But, it added, the remaining crew and 38 passengers

For the Record

BEIJING (UPI) - Two leftists who led a campaign against Deng Xinoping have gone on trial — the first persons to be prosecuted for political crimes in Beijing since the Gang of Four was sentenced in January 1981, diplomatic sources say. Five other leftists are being interrogated, the sources said Friday.

TAIPEI (UPI) — Wu Yung-keng, a Chinese pilot who defected to Taiwan through South Korea in October, will receive a \$2.75-million award for his "heroic defection" and will be commissioned a major in the Taiwan Air Force, military officials said Saturday.

MANILA (UPI) - Thirteen persons were burned to death Sanarday when their bus, carrying a load of fireworks, burst into flames on an expressway near Manila, police said.

هكذامنالأعل

U.S. Voters Move Back Toward the Center and Traditional Affiliations

By Hedrick Smith New York Times Service NEW YORK - The pendulum swung back toward the center last

Important gains by the Demo-crats in the House of Representatives and statehouses seemed to add up to a call for adjustments by the administration.

A big turnout and the splinter-

NEWS ANALYSIS

ing of the 1980 Reagan coalition lifted Democrats to seven new governorships and 26 more seats in' the House of Representatives while they retained 20 of 33 contested Senate seats. The House losses were the most serious sioce World War II for an elected president in the first mid-term election after his party captured the White House. (The average such loss is 11

The 1980 Reagan swing had kin-dled Republican hopes of consoli-dating a national majority of hard-core Republicans, blue-collar crossovers, Southerners, the elderly and independents. Even Jews and liberals went more Republican than usual. But that hope fourdered this year when most groups returned to traditional voting pat-

al transmaters.

Overall, the popular congressional vote split 56 to 44 for the Democrats. About one-third of the Democrats who voted Republican in 1980 came home. Another shift took place among independents, who had favored Republicans two years ago by 10 points, but went Democratic this year by 4 points. With high unemployment, union

households were more than 2-1 Democratic, up 10 percent from 1980. Two years ago, the elderly split evenly but this year went 5-4 Democratic. Jewish voters and liberals returned to lopsided pro-Democratic margins.
In the referendum on the

Reagan program, unemployment and Social Security (mentioned as decisive issues by 37 percent and 25 percent of the voters) cut sharp-ly for the Democrats. The Republican skid might have been worse if . 48 percent of the electorate had oot blamed past Democratic policies for the woeful economy, compared with 38 percent blaming

Nowhere were Republicans shocked more than in the South. They were braced in advance to lose governorships in the economi-

ITU Budget Rises Despite Soviet and ie Report U.S. Objections

NAIROBI - The meeting of the Union, which attracted widespread attention when Arab countries tried to expel Israel, has ended with approval of budget increases opposed by the United States and the Soviet Union. The approval Friday of an effec-

tive 6.45 percent budget increase for oext year and technical assistance for poor member countries was seen as a modest victory by Third World nations. This year's budget was \$47 million.

The head of the U.S. delegation, Michael R. Gardner, said at the end of the meeting: "We are not going bome to trumpets, but we have been reasonably successful even though there has been a defi-nite shift in the focus of the ITU."

The attempt to strip Israel of its credentials because of the invasion of Lebanon was quashed only after the United States threatened to suspend its annual \$3.2 million contribution to the ITU.

The United States, Britain and the Soviet Union all expressed formal reservations on the contents of the new budget, which calls for reduced staff and administrative expenditures but is weighted more heavily toward technical assiscally ravaged Middle Western states — Michigan, Ohio, Minne-sota and Wisconsin — and even Nevada. They had not expected an upset in Nebraska. But they had eyed the new Sun Belt congressional seats bopefully.

So they were chagrined when resurgent Democrats took back the Texas and Arkansas governorships and added 13 new Southern House seats - three each in Texas and Virginia, two each in North Carolina and Florida, and one each in South Carolina, Alabama and Ten-

National party leaders, having selected Dalias as their 1984 convention site, were particularly surprised by Texas, where Mark White, the attorney general, upset William P. Clements Jr., the bluntspoken Republican governor. The pain was compounded by the comeback of George C. Wallace, who appealed successfully to Alabama's black voters, and by that of Bill Clinton, who regained the Arkansas governorship he lost in 1980.

For the White House, there was added bad oews that most of the newly elected Southern Demo-crats, incloding Mike Andrews of Texas and Robin Tallon of South Carolina, are traditional Demo-crats rather than conservative boll weevils" who might side with

The main Republican consolation in the South was Paul S. Trible Jr.'s Senate victory in Vir-

The governor's race in California was a blow to those who had boped to see Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley become the oation's first elected black governor. In Mississipi. Robert L. Clark Jr., a state legislator seeking another racial breakthrough, lost his race for the House against an indept the House against an ardent Reaganite.

"Tom Bradley's defeat is pro-foundly disappointing," said M. Carl Holman, president of the National Urban Coalition. "It will be hard for young minority citizens to be persuaded that race does out continue to be a potent oegative political factor.

Fenwick of New Jersey narrowly lost bids for the Senate. And Roxanne Conlin, a co-founder of the National Women's Political Caucus, fell just short of the Iowa

Even so, women did pick up congressional seats in Connecticut, Nevada and Indiana, boosting their House total to 21. And blacks added four freshmen, two in New York, to reach 20 members: Hispanic candidates won three new scats for a total of nine.

If ooe hallmark of 1980 was the

nent Democratic liberals and the rise of conservative Republicans, 1982 went the other way, though less sharply. In California, for example, liberal San Francisco Democrat Phil Burton survived, and John Rousellot. a conservative Republican, fell.

A dozen Republican freshmen who had ridden Mr. Reagan's coattails into office also went down, a couple to the same liberal Democrats they had beaten in 1980. Most embarrassing to the White House was the defeat of Eugene V. Atkinson, the Pennsylvania Democrat who turned Republican accordance to the White House last year.

Pakistanis, Police Clash

United Press International
LAHORE, Pakistan — The po lice fired tear gas and used night-sticks Saturday against 1,500 vil-lagers who threw stones during a protest stemming from a dispute over electricity rates. Six villagers and four policemen were reported injured in the clash outside Wazirabad, a town in Punjab province 62 miles (99 kilometers) north of

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TRIDENT LAUNCHING - Sheila Watkins, the wife of Admiral James D. Watkins, chief of U.S. naval operations, left, launched the Georgia, the newest Trident submarine, in Groton, Connecticut. At right are Susan Elizabeth Watkins and Senator Mack Mattingly, a Georgia Republican. Nineteen persons were arrested during an anti-nuclear demonstration at the launching ceremonies Saturday.

Reagan Urges Congress To Work on Economy

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON - President Ronald Reagan has called on congressional Democrats and Republicans to deal with the ailing econ-

neans to deal with the alling economy in the coming special session, telling the nation, "Our needs are too great to wait uotil oext year."

However, President Reagan did not move beyond his own limited agenda on the problem of rising unemployment, declaring in his weekly radio address Saturday that there is on "magic method" for there is oo "magic method" for combatiog the jobless rate that rose to 10.4 percent last month.

In contrast, Democrats have been contending that their 26-seat gain in the congressional elections was a clear sign from the people that government must deal more directly with unemployment.

Advisers to Speaker Thomas P.

O'Neill Jr. of Massachusetts said

Saturday that the resolve of House Democrats for an immediate, direct jobs bill has been greatly bolstered by the election results. They said an interesting question in the special session will be whether this Women fared no better in three highly visible contests. Harriet Woods, a Missouri state senator, and Representative Millicent Mr. Reagan's address, in which

he repeated his proposed lameduck ageods for action on appropriations, clean air, regulatory re-form and urban "coterprise zone" legislation, did not directly cootradict the private estimates of both Capitol Hill and White House aides that the special session of Congress, beginning Nov. 29, is likely to produce only modest re-

President Reagan spoke from the White House at midday as his close political friend, Senator Paul Laxalt of Nevada, arrived for a be will sccept the president's invitation to take over as chairman of the Republican National Committee from Richard Richards. Asked whether the appointment

was a sign that the president had decided to run for re-election, Sen-ator Laxalt said that Mr. Reagan had not yet told him his thinking on that question.

But be added, "If I personally didn't think that he was going to be a candidate, I wouldn't be accepting this position."

In his six-minute radio address, the president called for "bipartisan dedication" to economic recovery in the lame-duck and new congres-sional sessions, and he revived his pasi threat to "use the veto if occ-essary" to keep Congress within previously agreed upon budget

"We've had enough talk," the president declared. "Campaign cliches must give way to action. If we are to continue the momentum for recovery, if we are to surmount our problems as I know we can, we must act together and we must act

For his part, Mr. Reagan repeated much of his campaign argument that, with taxes cut and inflatioo and interest rates dropping.
There is a new spirit building of optimism and hope."

Once again, he contended that the sharply rising unemployment was the result of years of oeglectful treatment by government of "runaway spending, taxing, don-ble-digit inflation."

And be did not move beyond his wn approach oo such measures as "enterprise zone" bill in arguing that indirect business stimulation, not direct government job bills, was the only remedy.

MANILA — A flight-deck crew-man aboard the American aircraft carrier Enterprise was sucked into the engine of a jet plane and killed Friday during operations in the Indian Ocean, a spokesman for the U.S. Navy 7th Fleet said Saturday

China Restates Reunification Policy On Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao

Resters
BEIJING — China has restated its intention to take back Taiwan, the British colony of Hong Kong and the Portuguese territory of Macao but said their social systems would not be changed.

An editorial in the Communist Party People's Daily said, "We must definitely take these places back and complete the great task of unifying the land of our ancestors. After these places are recovered or remited, according to the party's policy, their social systems will oot be changed, which is to say that the bourgeoisie in those places will still exist."

The article did oot say how or when such reunification would

Talks have begun with Britain on the future of Hong Kong with the declared aim of maintaining its stability and prosperity, and a re-cent Hong Kong trade delegation was told in Beijing that a plan should be worked out within two years. In theory, most of Hong

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Turnout in U.S. Elections Appears to Increase

By Howard Kurtz

وكناهن لتعلى

WASHINGTON — Voters apparently turned out in slightly greater numbers Tuesday than in the previous two nonpresidential elections, a reversal of a 22-year decline in voting, and many analysis attribute it to growing concern about Reaganomics.

Preliminary figures vary, but a leading voting analyst. Curtis B. Gans, said that more than 40 percent of the voting-age population went to the polls, compared with 37.9 percent in the 1978 elections. The final figure should reach 41 percent as final returns come in, he

The greatest increases came in the South and most of the industri-al states of the Northeast and Midwest, which have been hardest hit

Mr. Gans found a higher turn-out in 26 states and the District of Columbia, a lighter turnout in 15 states and about the same level in the remaining states. The greatest increases were 13.7 percent in Ar-kansas and 10.1 percent in Georg-

Other states showing significant increases were Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, New York, New Jersey, Alabama and Texas. The biggest decreases came in Florida, 6.5 percent, and Nevada, 6.1 percent.

A surge of black, Hispanic and working-class voters in many of these states provided crucial mar-gins for several Democratic candi-

"People felt a stake in the elec-tion, especially in the industrial states where the economic issues were felt most," said Mr. Gans, who heads the compartisan Com-mittee for the Study of the Ameri-can Electorate. "The economy propelled a lot of people to cast a vote of protest, and there was some re-turn to the Democratic fold by

working-class voters."
Other analysts said that record

U.S. Navy Crewman Killed

Kong is to revert to China in 1997

upon the expiration of a 99-year

Taiwan is still ruled by the na-tionalist Chinese defeated on the mainland by Mao in 1949, and Beijing has said the Taiwanese can keep their own armed forces and socioeconomic system if they agree to peaceful reunification with China. Taipei says it will oot negotiate unless China renounces commuunemployment, upprecedented campaign spending and intensive negative advertising had aroused passions and turned the 1982 electric negative advertising had aroused passions and turned the 1982 electric negative advertising had aroused passions and turned the 1982 electric negative advertising had aroused passions and turned the 1982 electric negative advertising had aroused passions and turned the 1982 electric negative advertising had aroused passions and turned the 1982 electric negative advertising had aroused passions and turned the 1982 electric negative advertising had aroused passions and turned the 1982 electric negative advertising had aroused passions and turned the 1982 electric negative advertising had aroused passions and turned the 1982 electric negative advertising had aroused passions and turned the 1982 electric negative advertising had aroused passions and turned the 1982 electric negative advertising had aroused passions and turned the 1982 electric negative advertising had aroused passions and turned the 1982 electric negative advertising had aroused passions and turned the 1982 electric negative advertising had a passion and turned the 1982 electric negative advertising had a passion and turned the 1982 electric negative advertising had a passion and turned the 1982 electric negative advertising had a passion and turned the 1982 electric negative tion ioto a referendum on the

Reagan administration. According to Mr. Gans, turnout in off-year elections dropped sharply from 48.8 percent in 1962 to 37.9 percent in 1978. lo presidential years, the turnout has fallen from 62.8 percent in 1960 to 53.9 percent in 1980.

Mr. Gans based his figures on the highest vote count for a statewide race in 46 states and the District of Columbia. He had to make

that 63.9 million Americans voted in the 46 states and the District of Columbia, out of a total voting-age population of 169 million, he said. Absentee ballots and recounts could raise the figure slightly. CBS News, working from simi-

lar figures, estimated Tuesday's turnout at just over 39 percent. Others rely on voting figures for

House contests, which depresses the turnout because of many uncontested races. ABC News, using

the Democratic National Committee, said labor unions had mounted an all-out registration drive. signing up thousands of new voters who were dismissed by most pollsters because they rarely went to the polls before.

"Anger at Reaganomics was really a strong motivating factor," she said. "Black voters and unemployed voters are clearly the ones bearing the brunt of the adminis-

Women Join N.Y. City Fire Department for First Time

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Women have become full-fledged firefighters in New York City for the first time in the Fire Department's 117-year

Eleven women and 103 men graduated from the Fire Academy on Friday. The graduates start work this week, and a spokesman for the Fire Department said that few alterations would be needed to The graduates were the survi-

vors of an original 155-member probationary class that began training Sept. 22. The ceremony took place despite a last-minute attempt by the

Uniformed Firefighters Associa-tion to block the graduation. The union asked the U.S. Court of Appeals on Thursday to prevent the graduation on the grounds that

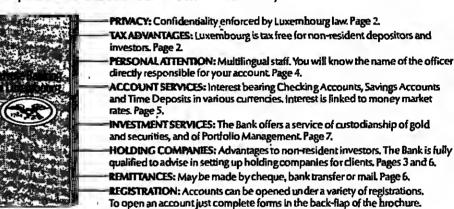
accommodate women at standards had been lowered for the probationary training program
— a charge that the Fire Depart-

ment denies.

One of the graduates, Brenda
Berkman, is a lawyer who filed a class-action suit charging the Fire Department with discrimination against women. The suit led to a U.S. District Court order that the Fire Department develop a new test and reserve 45 places for women as firefighters.

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Court Says NSA May Eavesdrop on Americans

By David Bumham New York Times Service

WASHINGTON - A federal appeals court has ruled that the National Security Agency may lawfully intercept messages between U.S. citizens and people overseas, even if there is no cause to believe that the Americans are foreign agents, and then provide summaries of these messages to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Because the agency is among the largest and most secretive intelligence organizations and because millions of electronic messages enter and leave the United States each day, lawyers familiar with the intelligence agency consider the decision to be a significant in-crease in the legal authority of the government to keep track of its cit-

The mission of the NSA is to eavesdrop on the electronic messages of foreign governments and tions of the United States. To accomplish these goals, the agency has several thousand listening posts around the world and a huge bank of computers in its heavily guarded headquarters at Fort George Meade, Maryland, near

The Oct. 21 decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Cir-

By Michael T. Kaufman

New York Times Service

government of this province has begun an intense lobbying cam-

begun an intense lobbying cam-paign in Washington aimed at halting a long-planned irrigation project for North Dakota. People here believe that the project threatens fish, fishermen and fish-

eating Indian tribes of Manitoba.

Using direct appeals that have irritated U.S. diplomats, the Mani-

tobans are trying to recruit mem-

bers of Congress and have them re-

ject an appropriation bill that has

to be approved by Dec. 15 if work

on the project is to continue. The

project, the Garrison Diversion.

Unions Hold Protests

In West German Cities

SAARBRUCKEN. West Ger-

many — About 110,000 people, backed by labor unions, held pro-tests in two cities Saturday against

the labor policies of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's government.

In Hamhurg, organizers said about 90,000 people marched through the city center calling for

full employment. In Saarbrücken

police said about 20,000 demon-

strators took part in a protest, but

the organizer, the West German

Labor Federation, said the number

was much higher.

which would take water from the

WINNIPEG, Manitoha - The

yer. Abdeen Jabara, who for many years has represented Arab-American citizens and alien residents in

The decision reversed the 1979 ruling of Federal District Judge Ralph M. Freeman that the agency's acquisition of several of Mr. Jabara's foreign messages violated his Fourth Amendment right to be free of "unreasonable searches and seizures.

The FBI's investigation of Mr. Jahara began in August 1967. In November 1971, the government has acknowledged, the bureau asked the security agency "to sup-ply any available information" about the lawyer that "might come into its possession during the course of its foreign signals intelligence activities." As a result, the agency provided the FBI summaries of six overseas communications of Mr. Jabara.

The opinion of the three-judge panel of the Court of Appeals held. "The simple fact remains that the NSA lawfully acquired Ja-

bara's messages."
The court ruled further that the lawyer's Fourth Amendment rights were not violated when summaries of his overseas telegraphic messages" were furnished to the investigative bureau "irrespective of

North Dakota and channel it

through lakes and streams to the parched central third of the state.

unanimous sentiment of North

Dakotans against the equally solid

views of people on the Canadian side of the border. The issue, now

coming to a head, has been mount-

ing ever since the idea was raised in 1944.

According to proponents in

North Dakota, the project is a per-fectly safe plan that fulfills a promise made when the Garrison

dam was huilt 35 years ago to pro-

tect states downstream from regu-

lar flooding. North Dakota school-

children are taught that the project

is a federal obligation that will

redeem the sacrifices made when

lakes formed by the dam covered

half a million acres of fertile bot-

spective is very different. Opposi-

tion has grown sharply since 1969

when naturalists began to ask what

might happen when the diverted water drained into Manitoha's riv-

ers and lakes. The problem, they

said, is that two river systems,

while close to each other, have de-

veloped as self-enclosed entities,

with the North Dakota waters draining through the Missouri and

Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico

and the Manitoba waters flowing

The two systems are on oppo-

north to Hudson Bay.

On the Canadian side the per-

The conflict pits the virtually

Canadians Lobby in U.S. to Halt Water Plan

cuit involves the government's survellance of a Michigan-born law- cause to believe that be was a forcause to believe that be was a for-

eign agent. Lawyers familiar with the NSA believe the Jabara decision is highly unusual in that it is the first time the government has openly ac-knowledged that the agency's surveillance equipment was used to acquire the overseas communications of an individual and that communications then were passed to a federal law-enforcement agency.

Mr. Jahara is represented by John Shattuck, Washington direc-tor of the American Civil Liberties Union. In a formal request for a rehearing of the case before the full 10-judge court of appeals, the ACLU said, "It is difficult to imagine a more sweeping judicial approval of governmental action in violation of constitutional rights than the decision of the panel in

Under current laws, if the FBI wants to eavesdrop legally on the conversation of a criminal, it must ohtain a warrant from a federal judge. In those cases where the bureau wants to eavesdrop on a spe-cific individual who it believes is an agent of a foreign government, apply for a warrant from a special secret panel of federal judg-es established just for that pur-

and act as if they were on opposite

slopes of a peaked roof," said Claudia Engel, head of the Garri-

son Focal Office, which the gov-

ernment set up to mobilize and in-form Manitobans of what North

Dakota is doing to advance the project and what Canada is doing

Since the two systems are dis-tinct, different species of fish evolved in their respective waters.

People here contend that the Gar-

rison project would mingle the wa-

ters that nature has kept apart and that commercially valueless fish

from the American system, such as

Cancels NATO Exercise

United Press International

ment has canceled NATO exercis-

es scheduled for Nov. 10 to Dec. 5

in the north of the country, saying

from the manuevers of the island

of Lemnos in the Aegean Sea. Lemnos, less than 40 miles (64

kilometers) from the entrance to

the Dardanelles, has a naval base

and an airport used by the Greek

Air Force. But Turkey, another NATO ally, wants the island to be

demilitarized, and Western observ-

ers said Greece interpreted the ex-

clusion of the island as tacit sup-

Klaus Luft

Vice Chairman, Marketing

Overseas Sales and USA

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Paderborn, W. Germany

port for the Turkish position.

the reason was NATO's exclusion

ATHENS - The Greek govern-

Greece, Citing Island,

The special missions and advanced technology of the NSA. however, make its operations more difficult to control within the restrictions of the federal wiretapping and surveillance laws. According to the 1975 report of the Special Senate Intelligence Committee, the agency has equipment that "sweeps up enormous num-bers of communications, not all of which can be reviewed by intelligence analysis."

words and phrases designed to identify communications of intelligence interest - NSA computers scan the mass of acquired communications to select those which may be of specific foreign intelligence interest," the report said. The report added that intelli-

gence analysts review the selected communications and then "the foreign intelligence derived from these signals is reported to the various agencies that have requested

The Senate investigation in 1975, undertaken after the Watergate disclosures, uncovered evidence that the overseas communications of a number of individuals engaged in organizing political protests against the war in Viet-nam were subjected to surveillance hy the NSA equipment.

Utah chuh, would compete for

food and soon overwhelm the na-

tive whitefish, walleye and sauger that support Manitoba's extensive

fish industry. In addition, they say.

tourism would suffer and Indians

who depend on the fish would be

deprived of a major protein source.

In 1977 those points were weighed by a joint commission first established under a 1909 trea-

ty between Canada and the United

States to deal with disputes on

The panel recommended that

any certainty prevent biota and

disease transfers which would

cause severe and irreversible dam-

age to the ecosystem and, in particular, to the commercial and sport

fisheries in Canada, those portions of the Garrison Diversion unit

which could affect waters flowing into Canada not be huilt at this

In the meantime, the Audubon

Society obtained an order to bar

construction during the Carter ad-

ministration. The order has since

been lifted and work on several

pumping stations and canals has

begun in accordance with a scaled-

down version of the project that

North Dakotans believe accommo-

U.S. officials insist, of course,

dates the commission's concerns.

that the Canadian qualms about

the project are misplaced.

ause a "fish screen cannot with

boundary waters.



Pope John Paul II, speaking in a stiff wind at Montserrat Abbey.

Pope Urges Basques To Reject Terrorism

New York Times Service

ered at Loyola, the pope invoked his own experience with terrorism, the attempt on his life by a Turkish gunman last year.

The pope, who said he was addressing his remarks particularly

I would like to tell them with

The pope, following a speech prepared before he left Rome Oct. 31, made no reference to the slay-

run the society on his behalf.

the throne of Peter" and that their principal activity was not "in tem-poral reality, nor in that which is the field of laymen and must be left to them."

The pope was reminded of the problems of the Basques by a forceful message of greeting by the bishop of San Sebastian, Monsignor José Maria Setien.

"You see a people that suffers," he told the pope. "That is the truth, because they have not found the ways of stable and durable peace and harmony. It is a people in the grips of a severe sociocultur-al crisis, which has also provoked, in many cases, a profound ethical-religious crisis."

another Jesuit sanctuary, the for-tress at Javier, where St. Francis Xavier, was born. The pope spoke to a crowd of about 100,000 there. He is to return to Rome Tues-

■ Address on Unemployment

Hundreds of thousands of people cheered the pope Sunday in Catalonia, where he called on governments to take more action against unemployment, Reuters re-ported from Barcelona.

He began the day with a visit to Montserrat Abbey, in the moun-tains above Barcelona, the spiritual center of Catalan nationalism. Rain and low clouds prevented the pope's helicopter from landing at Montserrat, and he made his way there hy road, arriving two hours behind schedule. Red Cross workers treated hundreds suffering from cold and exposure.

In an address later in Barcelona, the pope asked governments to take coordinated steps rather than piecemeal measures to tackle rising unemployment, which he do scribed as a "symptom of a moral disorder within society."

an 18-month jail sentence for misappropriating 168,000 Cyprus lapse of the movement. pounds (\$336,000) from the coop-From Loyola, the pope went to eratives. The report also accused him of responsibility for losing the movement about 40 million pounds between 1975 and his arrest in June 1980, and urged that further unspecified action be taken

The cooperatives were organized at village and farm levels and, with by Mr. Azinas be closed.

government approval, moved into banking, lending to members at low interest rates. At the height of NICOSIA — Spyros Kyprianou, the president of Cyprus, who is un-der fire in his bid for re-election in Mr. Azinas's power in 1979, there were more than 770 branches of the cooperative in Cypnus. Cooperative industries included grapes and wine, shipping transport, farm produce, canning tourism and smaller ventures.

Cypriot Government

Issues Delayed Report

On Economic Scandal

By Thomas O'Dwycr

February, has issued a damning re-

port on the worst economic scan-

dal in the island's history.

The report by a commission of inquiry into the running of

Cyprus's extensive cooperative

movement was made public in late

October, although it was presented

to the cabinet a year ago.

11 hlames the Greek-Cypriot

government, especially successive

ministers of commerce and indus-

try, for failing to stop the coopera-nive organizations' management

from squandering millions of dol-lars worth of funds and bringing

about the collapse of a movement that reached into almost every as-

Before the report was issued, the government had been under attack

by opposition parties because of

several earlier embarrassments since Mr. Kyprianou came to pow-

These included allegations that the national airline, Cyprus Air-

ways, has been grossly misman-

aged, while a firm given the mul-

nimillion-dollar contract to build an intercity highway collapsed

soon after work on the project

The commission of inquiry, headed by a Supreme Court judge, accused the former commissioner

of the cooperatives movement, An-

dreas Azinas, of mismanagement and financial misconduct on a

Mr. Azinas has already served

er in 1978.

started.

massive scale.

pect of Cypriot commercial life.

"There is not a town or village without a banking or consumers cooperative, said a report issued

at the time. Many of the industries collapsed or were taken over by private enterprise when the scandal broke in 1980. The movement has been kept

going by government aid.

The full extent of the cooperatives scandal was revealed for the first time in the report.

its time in the report. It said that Mr. Azinas, though only a public servant, behaved like an absolute ruler of the movement. Hundreds of thousands of pounds were given away for purposes un-connected with the cooperatives, it

The cooperative bank may lose up to 40 million Cyprus pounds, including 19 million pounds given in aid by the government, the report concluded.

The government moved quickly after the publication of the report to head off an expected uproar from the opposition, saving it was proud of its handling of the affair.

The government gave no reason for the delay in making the report public, but a government source said the report could not have been published before because the government needed to carry out its recommendations in an orderly manner to prevent the total col-

The commission recommended that seven officials of the movement who served under Mr. Azinas be sacked and the post he held abolished, that the cooperatives be run hy a ministerial committee, the movement's hank be placed under the anthority of the Cyprus central bank, and several industries set up

U.S. Court Acquits 5 Of Smuggling for IRA

By Robert D. McFadden

New York Times Service NEW YORK - Five men charged with conspiring to smug-gle weapons to the Irish Republican Army were acquitted in feder-al court in Brooklyn Friday, apparently because a jury believed defense contentions that the Central Intelligence Agency had sanc-tioned their gun-running opera-

No evidence directly linking the CIA to the operation was offered at the seven-week trial, and denials of involvement by the agency were entered repeatedly by the prosecu-CIA lawyer.

However, two jurors later said they were convinced that the CIA had been involved. They said that the jury, which deliberated for two and a half days, had leaned toward acquittal from the start. Prosecutors declined to comment on the

Pandemonium erupted among 100 supporters of the defendants when the verdict was read. They cheered, clapped, waved flags and chanted slogans in a demonstra-tion that spilled into the courthouse corridors.

"Up the Provos," sbouted George Harrison, 67, a retired ar-mored-car guard, who, with the other defendants, bad been charged with plotting to ship to the IRA's militant Provisional wing a cache of weapons including a 20mm cannon, a flame thrower, 47 machine guns and 11 automatic ri-

Besides Mr. Harrison, the de-fendants, all residents of the New York area, were Michael Flannery, 80, a director of the Irish Northern

Aid Committee: Thomas Falvey, 64, a construction worker; Patrick Mullin, 45, a telephone company employee, and Daniel Gormley, 33, an engineer. All are U.S. citi-zens, though several were born in

The defendants had conceded that they bought arms from a convicted arms souggler working asan undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Citing patriotic motives, they also acknowledged they had intended to send the arms to the IRA. Mr. Harrison said that he had been sending arms to the IRA for 20

However, the defendants claimed that the undercover agent who sold them the arms, George DeMeo, was a clandestine CIA operative, and that the CIA, which has a license to export weapons, had aided their operation in order to monitor the flow of arms to ireland and to prevent the IRA from turning to the Soviet Union for

The prosecutor, David V. Kirby, an assistant U.S. attorney, denied throughout the trial that the CIA was involved. At one point, he warned the jury that the defense, with its frequent references to the CIA, was trying to turn the pro-ceedings into a "political trial." The Irish Northern Aid Com-

mittee called the verdict "a grave embarrassment to the British," whose "pressure initiated this tri-al." Noraid, as the committee is called, has been accused by the Justice Department of being an important source of money and guns for the IRA. The group con-tends its fund-raising efforts in the United States are strictly for charitable purposes.

By Henry Kamm

SARAGOSSA, Spain - Pope John Paul II in a speech in the Basque region, where a separatist organization is conducting a terrorist campaign, has appealed to young Basques to reject violence.

Speaking Saturday before a crowd of tens of thousands gath-

to the young people, who were nu-merous in the enthusiastic throng.

affection and firmness - and my voice is that of one who has suffered personally from violence to think about their path. Do not let your generosity and altruism be misused. Violence is not a means of construction. It is an offense to God, to him who suffers and to him who practices it."

ing Thursday of Major General Victor Lago Roman in Matrid. ETA, a Basque separatisi group, claimed responsibility for the kill-

At the sanctuary to St. Ignatius Loyola, who founded the Jesuits in the 16th century, the pope indi-rectly brought up his dispute with the order. Believing some of its members, particularly in developing countries, to be too involved in radical politics and the order too "progressive." the pope intervened last year to name two Jesuits to

John Paul pointedly reminded the Jesuits that St. Ignatins Loyala was "in all instances obedient to

Romania to Make Emigrants Repay **Costs of Education Before Leaving**

United Press Internat BUCHAREST - Romanians who are granted exit visas to settle abroad will have to pay back in Western hard currencies all expenses that the state had spent for their high school and university education, according to a state do-

In addition to education costs, the decree, which was published Saturday, says that before emigrating Romanians must pay for medical care services, tourist and all

Bonn Aide to Washington

BONN — Defense Minister Manfred Wörner left for Washington on Sunday for two days of talks that are the first top-level contact between the Reagan administration and the new center right government in Bonn. Mr. Wörner was scheduled to meet with members of the Senate on Monday before holding talks Tues-day with members of the adminisother taxes as if they were foreigners nonresident in Romania. On

Nicolae Ceausescu, does not apply to people who have met work and age conditions for retirement and who wish to emigrate. Thousands of Romanian Jews

and ethnic Germans apply annually for exit visas to leave the country permanently. Romanians who illegally leave

Resters dispersed by police.

become state property.

their departure, all their belongings, including buildings and land The decree, signed by President

the country or fail to return home from trips abroad will be sued and their property at home or abroad

Notre Dame Demonstration

PARIS - Demonstrators from the Anarchist Federation, seeking a license to operate an independ-ent radio station, occupied one of the towers of Notre Dame Cathedral Saturday. They were

Published every Monday, this is a compilation of senior positions published in the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE and other selected publications. Comments concerning this feature can be addressed to Juanita Caspari in Paris.

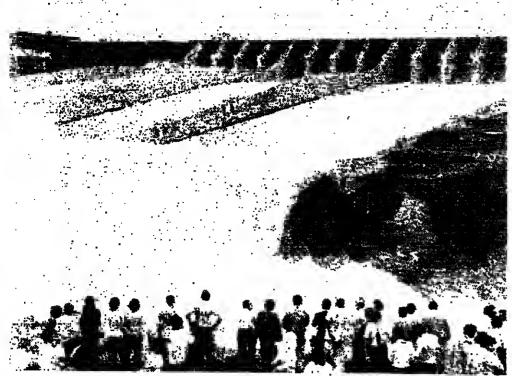
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INTERNATIONAL CORPORATE FINANCE	c.£75,000 negotialdo	Kajor British merekaat bank.	France	Frunch mat, early 38's, eap, in subty; pricing & expension of flaro-deliar band issues & similar securities.	Ref. SS/16, Mr. M.R. Lytton, Szatchi & Szatchi Rocroftmont, ED Charlotte St., Lundon W1A 1AQ.	Figure 12 Figure 12 28-18-82
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Management Opportunities in Int'l Banking		Arab Banking Corp.	Bahrain	Early to middle 30s; adv. deg. in econ. or tex. studies; min. 5 yrs. exp. int'l hanking; Eng. Arabic +.	Administration & Pursumel Bopt, Arah Backing Corporation, P.O. Dax 5658, Manama, State of Bahrain.	Piesethi Times 28-18-82
MANAGER	Yey comparities	Management Information Services.	Assumed Switz	Pref. Swiss nat. or C permit; adv. syst. delpt. httpl. with strategic lease-leav; solid mort. expertise to dex. & feath staff; Eng. +.	Cipher SE3-SEE21, Publicitas, 9-11 Ros du Prince, CS-1211 Guerra 3.	18.T. 38-18-82
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NEW SOUTH AMERICAN DAM — Presidents Alfredo Stroessner of Paraguay and João B. Figueiredo of Brazil have dedicated the Itaipu Dam on the Parana River between the two countries. The new structure is said to be the largest hydroelectric project in the world.

Ocean Pollution Is on the Decline, Even as Waste Grows, Study Says

By Bayard Webster New York Times Service

NEW YORK - The world's oceans, believed by many to be in danger of becoming sinks for man's pollutants, are able to assimilate the toxic substances in most areas and remain in relatively stable condition, an extensive international scientific study has determined.

Although many shore areas are heavily polinted and are still a health problem, the study found that the levels of most toxic substances in such coastal waters as well as in the less-polluted open-sea areas have decreased in the last

The study indicated that that was a result of environmental laws in the most industrialized countries that now restrict the production and distribution of many toxic substances such as DDT, poly-chlorinated hiphenyls, known as PCBs, as well as other chlorinated hydrocarbons and harmful metals.

The four-year survey, released last month, was mandated by the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm to 1972, which found a need for research on how man-made pollutants were affecting the oceans.

The study, entitled "The Health of the Oceans," was conducted by the Regional Seas Program of the United Nations Environmental Program with the help of seven other international hodies and

dozen countries. In a statement from Geneva ac-

Program, said the study showed that the growing amount of waste dumped into the oceans had still not had any significant effect on the health of the high seas, the large ocean areas that are several hundred miles from the nearest

In their studies of coastal areas along the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the researchers found that the effects of such effluents as sewage, food and beverage processing wastes, pulp and paper mill ef-fluents, mine tailings and dredge spoils were mainly local. The impact varied from one part

of the coastal zone to another, depending oo the type and volume of wastes and the movement pattern of the water along the shore line. It pointed out that sewage discharges threaten bathers with infection or can contaminate seabeds filled with shellfish.

But even in semi-enclosed bodies of water such as the Mediterranean, Baltic and North Seas and the Gulf of Mexico, all of which receive substantial amounts of pollutants, the studies found that in the open areas the toxic substances had been assimilated or degraded enough so that they were barmless.

Mr. Keckes ooted that although much pollution was directly pumped or dumped into the coastal seas, a surprising amount entered in unexpected ways, such as through the dumping of motor oil

Dr. Stjepan Keckes, head of the pended on the type of oil and a United Nations' Regional Seas variety of physical, chemical and variety of physical, chemical and biological processes. The survey mal and plant life in the open seas were "rarely drastic, and recovery is usually a question of weeks or months.

> But in intertidal and subtidal areas, the impact of oil could he severe. Recovery could take years or decades, the report found.

"We all feel that the ocean is healthier in 1982 than it was in 1972," said Dr. George Harvey, a chemical oceanographer with the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration in Miami, who conducted many marine research experiments for the study. 'It seems the ocean is more resilient and able to protect itself than we had thought," he said in an inter-

Mr. Harvey noted that the amount of lead in the oceans was decreasing because of restrictions on leaded gasoline. But since the Northern Hemisphere has begun an effort to clean up the air and water somewhat," he said, "the results are beginning to show in the oceans. And, oddly enough, the concern is oow in the Southern Hemisphere."

The reason, he said, is that the poisonous chemicals many industrial nations have stopped using are now being used in the underdeveloped countries.

The study cited several general trends of increasing contamination Although the problem of oil pol-lution on the seas is a major one, — that should serve as warning the survey said that its impact de-signals on the oceans' health.

U.S. Wilderness Drilling Ban Defied

By Philip Shabecoff New York Times Service

WASHINGTON - An oil company has begun drilling in a feder-al wilderness area in New Mexico despite a congressional ban on such drilling and the refusal of the U.S. Interior Department to grant

Conservationists warned Friday

the wilderness system.

The Interior Department's Fish and Wildlife Service on Thursday issued a trespassing citation against the Yates Petroleum Co. for drilling in the Salt Creek Wilderness in the Bitter Lake Wildlife Refuge near Roswell, New Mexi-

that if the government did not halt the drilling, a precedent could be the department, noted that the

John Lee Denson, 79, Former Editor, Dies

NEW YORK -- John Lee Den-son, 79, who during a 50-year ca-reer was an editor of Newsweek, The New York Herald Tribune and other leading publications, died Friday night at Lakeside Health Center in West Palm Beach, Florida.

Mr. Denson introduced changes in design and headlines at a number of the papers. At Newsweek, where he became managing editor in 1953 and editor three years lat-er, be was generally credited with introducing layouts that made exdensive use of arrows, circles and boxes. He left Newsweek in 1961 for The Herald Tribune.

Mr. Denson left several jobs in disputes over what he contended was outside interference in the newsroom. Nineteen months after being named editor at The Herald Tribune, for example, he resigned in a dispute with the editor-inthief and publisher, John Hay Whitney.

Other deaths:

Edwin A. Pollock, 83, a retired marine general who was a World

Netherlands Sentences Armenian in Attack

The Associated Press ROTTERDAM — One of four junmen who ambushed a car car-ying a Turkish diplomat here has sentenced to six years' im-Prisonment. The attack was annehed as the Turkish consul general, Kemalil Demirer, drove to us office June 20.

The court on Saturday upheld a harge of attempted murder gainst Penyemin Evingolu a Turkish national of Armenian decent, who had fired a submachine un during the attack. Mr. Demirand his driver were unburt. Three of the assailants escaped,

War II hero at Guadalcanal, Friday of inflammation of the pan-creas in Charlestown, South Caro-

John McDiarmid, 71, a retired UN personnel and management specialist who served in the Congo, India and Jordan, among other countries. Thursday of cancer in New Canaan, Connecticut.

Sir Sidney Kirkman, 87, who as chief gunnery officer to the Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery laid down the blistering British barrage that preceded the crucial World War II battle for El Alamein, Egypt, Friday in Lon-

Rayford W. Logan, 85, professor emeritus of history at Howard University and the author of many books about American blacks, Thursday of a heart ailment in

George M. Grant, 85, a Demoerat who represented Alabama's Second Congressional District from 1939 until 1964 and consistently opposed what he referred to as "so-called civil-rights legisla-tion," Thursday of a heart attack aboard the Queen Elizabeth 2 bound from England to New

Republican who served six terms from Washington's Second Dis-trict from 1952 to 1964 and who won the U.S. Amateur golf title in 1952. Wednesday in Pebble Beach,

Dale Edwards, 56, a guitarist since 1957 for the Comets band founded by Bill Haley, in Daytona Beach, Florida. His body was found Thursday in a motel swimming pool.

James Martin, 84, a carpenter whn served as a model in all four of Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms" paintings during World War II, Wednesday in Arl-

set that would threaten much of rights to minerals beneath the federal wilderness are owned by the state of New Mexico, which has granted Yates Petroleum a drilling

The company is continuing to drill while the department decides if there is any other action it can take, Harmon Kallman, a depart-ment spokesman, said Friday. The conservationists called on

the Interior Department to issue a cease and desist order requiring the company to halt drilling opera-tions, and they also charged that the department had given tacit approval to the company to drill. But Interior Department officials strongly denied the charge. Mr. Good said he had written to

the company two weeks ago saying that a federal drilling permit could not be issued because of a continuing resolution adopted by Congress last month that barred the granting of licenses for the development of wilderness areas.

Mr. Good also said he had told the company that a permit might be justified if unt for Congress's

The company's 10-year lease for the area would have expired at midnight, Nov. 1, unless it had commenced drilling operations by then. It apparently started drilling just before the deadline. A company spokesman, Peyton Yates, de-clined to comment on the drilling

116 bis av des Champs-Elysées

victims of terrorists, as the military

The discovery in the last several weeks of oearly 1,000 bodies in six cemeteries near here has heightened public suspicions that the military, despite its denials, knows the fate of many of the 6,000 people who have disappeared during the suppression of guerrilla activiues. Human rights teaders are seeking court orders to have the bodies exhumed in determine their identities.

manders in chief."

ments in the army might over-throw the Bignone government to silence the human rights criticism.

late, however, on a promised accounting of the disappeared. One Interior Ministry official cited paperwork problems, but said not to expect any startling disclosures

Some politicians are of two minds on whether to press for investigations. Many appear to be groping for a compromise so as not to have to face the issue once they take office.

Swiss Clash Commemorated

WORLDWIDE ENTERTAINMENT



Argentine Military Seeks Accord on 'Disappeared' Issue

By Edward Schumacher

BUENOS AIRES — Argentina's military government is seeking an accord with the country's political leaders on how to deal with the deaths and disappearances of the 1970s, when the military was fightiog a leftist insurgency. Failure to resolve the issue could block a

promised return to civilian rule.

The military fears an investigation hy a future civilian government. Some political leaders have already joined labor, church and human rights leaders in calling for a full accounting by the military of

lum power over to an elegaed civilian government by March 1984. But President Reynaldn Bignone cast dnuht on the proposed timetable when he announced recently that an accord on the conduct of the military was being sought. The president said that the

agreement was not a condition for a return to democracy, but many civilian leaders said that that

mocracy, as an "obstacle" to be overcome. A month ago the government hanned all reporting on the subject of the disappearances from television and state-owned

The issue comes at a time when human rights and press freedom here have greatly improved since the disappearances of the 1970s. Flagrant torture all but stopped two years ago, and the govern-ment, steadily releasing political prisoners, is down to 316 prisoners held without formal charges under a seven-year-old state-of-siege law. General Reston said the rest would be released by the end of next

Many Argentines who once accepted the military's repressive tactics as necessary to fight the leftist terrorism have changed their minds as evidence has started to emerge that many of the victims of that repression died due to mistakes, corruption and political op-

The new willingness to confroot the government has begun to apcently rejecting elections as unly. The document was signed "clandestine junta of com-

GENEVA — About 600 people marched here Saturday to mark the 50th anniversary of clashes between leftist demonstrators and the Swiss Army that left 13 dead among the protesters. No incidents were reported during the march, organized by trade unions and the

> Place Blanche 606 di 19 et agences

New York Tomes Service

had claimed.

The military had promised to

appeared to be the clear message.

Major General Llamil Resinn. the interior minister, said recently that the cases of the people who disappeared must be discussed, in the context of the transition to de-

pear when the military rulers have been weakened by the loss to Britain in the war for the Falkland Islands. Furthermore, the army is split internally and a group of colonels are among those suspect-ed by political leaders for distribtiting a document to the media re-

There is a fear among many civilian leaders that hard-line cle-

Political and human rights leaders have called for the end of the state of siege, which was imposed before the military took power in a coup more than six years ago. But government said the law was still necessary because exiled subversives may return to the country. There has been no terrorism for

The government is six months

Revelations on a number of cases have been pouring forth in the media since two months ago when a former treasury minister under

corruption in the navy when she million. He said he did not know was killed here in 1979. million. He said he did not know the reason for the payment. the reason for the payment. A former diplomat. Gregorio Italians Insist on Probe

the military, Juan Alemann, charged that two former Argentine diplomats did not appear to be the

Dupont, a friend of Miss Holm-berg's, said she had told him she In one of the cases, the family of was about to report that the com-Elena Holmberg, a former officer in the French Emhassy, reopened a mander-in-chief of the navy, Adm. Emilio E. Massera, had met secretcourt investigation and publicly ly in Paris in 1978 with Mario Fircharged that she had been suhmitmenich, head of the leftist Monting reports to her superiors about tonero guerillas, and paid him \$1

Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo, returning to Rome from an official visit in the United States, said the Italian government had a right to insist "that light be shed on this long night of death for Argentina," United Press International reported.

the uproar in Italy over more than 300 Italians reported missing in Argentina. The foreign minister said Saturday the government was ready to give parliament full details of action it has taken to get information from the Argentine government about Italians reported missing by their relatives in Ita-

Junta Cracking Down More on Critical Press

By Edward Schumacher

New York Times Service BUENOS AIRES - Last week's derision by Argentina's military government to shut three magazines permanently is part of a growing crackdown on the press. Argentine journalists say.

The magazines had been critical of the government of President Reynaldo Bignone, who signed the decrees closing the magazines despite earlier promises to respect press freedom.

General Bignone said Thursday that the three magazines - La Semana, Linea and Quorum had published photographs and articles that "perturb the harmoni-ous relations on which the present authorities are embarked."

A month ago the government banned television reporting on human rights issues. Two weeks ago the ruling three-man junta warned all news organizations in a communique that it "will not permit, in any way, destabilizing or dividing actions that could bring

back subversion." But the craekdown has not yet appeared to silence the criticism of the government emerging over the last year in the country's increasingly bold newspapers. The gov-ernment owns all television and

many radio stations. While newspapers and magazines are often advised by the government to practice self-censorship, most newspapers have been assiduously reporting the recent uncovering of graves estimated in hold more than 1,000 unidentified bodies. Many of these bodies are thought hy human rights leaders to be those of people who disappeared during a leftist insurgency

in the 1970s. In recent weeks, more than a half-dozen reporters for various news organizations have reported receiving telephoned death threats because of articles critical of the

military.

Maria Joséfina Morales de
Palozzi, who with her husband,

Sofnfieh, who is engaged in his

José, published Qunrum, fled Argentina tioder Italian diplomatic protection Friday after what her husband said was a kidnapping at-tempt in downtown Buenos Aires. Mrs. Palozzi took refuge Thursday in the Italian Emhassy and ob-

tained an Italian passport before flying to Rome on an Alitalia flight Friday evening.

Mr. Palozzi said in an interview that he had been moving among different houses since Wednesday, fearful that rightist groups close to the military might try in kill him. "In this country," be said, "when they accuse you of subversion it is

a license to be killed." The decree shutting La Semana accused it of "degrading actions" against the military, a reference to a cover two weeks ago that showed popular television scriptwriter wearing a military hat and making

a funny face. The photograph was a touched-

can allow it to proceed without formal congressional approval.

However, Representative Michael D. Barnes, a Maryland Democrat who is chairman of the

Hnuse inter-American affairs sub-

committee, expressed an attitude

that is widely shared on Capitol Hill when be said: "If they do go ahead with this sale, it will be a

In South Australia

censorship of his scripts, is suing the magazine. The magazine's editor in chief. Jorge Fontevecchia. defended the cover as "symbolic" nf the article and "comical" any-

Editorial Perfil, publishers of La Semana, have filed a law suit against the government cootending that it overstepped its powers. That the court has agreed to hear the suit sets up a potential clash between the military and the increasingly independent judiciary. in its latest issue, Linea published a cover photn of the three-

man junta with the caption, "Who are the subversives and the cor-Quirrum, which published nuly eight issues, focused exclusively on

military corruption. Officials at the Italian Foreign Ministry in Rome said Nov. 1 they would press Argentina for details of 297 missing persons of Italian birth or with family ties in Italy.

U.S. Copter-Part Sale to Guatemala Expected

By John M. Goshko

Washington Part Service WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration is nearing a decision to proceed with the long-delayed sale of helicopter spare parts to the military regime in Guatema-la, although the move would trigger more congressional opposition against U.S. military aid programs

in Central America.
U.S. officials privately denied
Friday that a final decision has been made. But they acknowledged that the administration is leaning toward approval of the \$2-

In the South of France PARIS - Violent storms in southern France have killed four persons in their cars with falling irees. French radio reported Sun-

Storms Cause 4 Deaths

day.
Winds of up to 75 miles and hour (120 kilometers per hour) tore up trees and destroyed electricity lines and some buildings. The gusts were particularly strong in the Dordogne and Limoges re-

million sale, and they admitted that briefings given to congression-al staff members last week were in-tended to signal those intentions.

On Tuesday, Stephen W. Bos-

worth, deputy assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, told staff members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Com-mittee that the administration believes the sale is necessary to protect Guatemala's military ruler, Labor Party Wins General José Efrain Rios Montt. against a coup that would make even more difficult an improvement in human rights and return to democracy in that country.

Sources present at the closed meetings said Mr. Bosworth disputed arguments that General Rios Montt's record does oot merit U.S. military aid. They said he also disputed contentions that the administration had promised to obtain informal congressional consent for the sale and refused to give any commitment that the administration will delay a decision until Congress returns on Nov. 29.

Since the proposed transaction

ADELAIDE, Australia — The Labor Party has won control of South Australia, ending three years of power by the Liberals, officials said Sunday. Liberal Premier David O. Tonkin conceded defeat after returns from Saturday's state election showed a 7 percentage point swing to Labor, electoral officials said.

With half of the 870,000 votes counted, Labor had gained control of the House of Assembly by winning at least 23 of the 47 seats and involves a cash sale of equipment had been prominot designated as specifically milinecessary, of the tary in nature, the administration Labor member. had been promised the support, if necessary, of the one independent

hreach of faith with Congress. We administration that there would be. no change in our military relation-ship with the Guatemalan military

without congressional approval." Mr. Barnes and other Hill sourees predicted that if the sale proceeds, the administration will face increasingly stiff opposition in

Congress to its requests for military aid for Central America.

They warned that the opposition is likely to apply not only to\$250,000 in training funds for Central america. Guatemala sought in the administration's pending appropriations request for fiscal 1983, but also to the significantly larger amounts it wants for El Salvador, where support for the government's fight against leftist guerrillas is the linchpin of U.S. policy in the re-

Guatemala has been seeking for years to buy spare parts for heli-copters, used to counter a growing guerrilla insurgency. And the administration, fearing a leftist take-over in Central America's largest country, has been lonking for ways; to strengthen its ties with General Rios Montt, who took power following a coup this year.

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Israeli Rejectionists

President Reagan, launching his Middle East peace plan, asked Israel to freeze its settiements in the West Bank to create a climate for talks. Prime Minister Begin promptly announced eight new settlements, and the other day his government made another statement of Israeli settlement plans. The State Department came back with a sharp critique, and Israel responded to it, oo Friday, with yet another affirmation of its stand.

lo a sense, one can understand the contempt Mr. Begin shows for the Reagan freeze. For 15 years, American presidents have protested the settlements; for 15 years, Israel has ignored the protests; and for 15 years, the

United States has done nothing about it. Earlier, Israelis who favored settlements were under a burden to show their policy would not roil relations with Washington. Now the burden is oo Israelis who questioo the settlements to show that a continuation will be detrimental. Israel's ambassador in the United States, oo dove, recently advised accepting the freeze, according to reports in the Israeli press. Mr. Begin rejected the advice, and the ambassador was publicly chastised for his pains.

With good reason, the settlements issue is widely seen as the essential test of Mr. Reagan's credibility in offering his new peace proposals. How can he convey to the Israelis that he means husiness? So far be has emphasized the soft sell. That means he hopes to encourage other Israeli elements and parties to reach for the promise of his plan. Something of the sort is stirring in Israel, hut it is slow and uncertain going. The argument that, as an Israeli minister put it on Friday, Mr. Reagan does oot really expect Israel to change its policy, is a powerful card in the

hands of Israeli rejectionists. The minister added that "there is no reason now for any reaction," because Israelis are settling West Bank land "which is not privately owned, which is not tilled and which in no way affects the rights of the Palestinians living there."

Meron Benvenisti, former deputy mayor of Jerusalem, has explained the danger and de-ceptiveness of this raoonale. The trouble is not the announcement of "eight more dots" on the map. Rather it is the steady shift of Israel's urban population to oew subsidized bousing blocks in precisely those untilled areas of which the minister speaks. The farming dots absorb few people. The housing blocks could increase the Jewish population from 25,000 to 100,000 by 1986 - a oumber constituting a tremendous additional weight against political compromise.

The United States has been striving to draw moderate Arabs toward open acceptance of Israel, and some hints of progress have been recorded. From Israel, however, have come only continued avowals that oo changes on hasic issues will be made.

Always some Israelis say, as one diplomat said after the State Department announce-ment, that it is a "mistake" for the United States to criocize Israel publicly. The real mistake is to ignore that Israelis commonly pocket American discretion as consent. The administration should keep pushing. It should do whatever is required to ensure that Israel gives the president's plan a fair chance. —THE WASHINGTON POST.

'Secret' War in Honduras

"Bay of Pigs II?" was the cover headline on a June 1981 article in the New Republic on war maneuvers in Honduras by forces that seek to destabilize. Nicaragua. Now Newsweek explores "America's Secret War," asserting that a U.S.-managed covert opera-

tion in Honduras is nearly out of cootrol.

Democracies do some things well, but dirty tricks are not conspicuous among them. Part of the difficulty — law and morality aside is the inquisitive, competiove free press. It is doubtless tempting to ahandoo diplomacy and try for a quick fix by using exile armies as proxies to eliminate a vexatious regime. But it can only work in the unlikely event that the press joins in pretending there is no official complicity.

Once that pretense is exposed, Washington's pious censure of others for meddling frontiers sounds like so much humbug. The United States oow concedes supplying arms to insurgents; wby then is it wrong for Nicaragua to do the same? If one superpower claims special exemption in trespassing upon the sovereignty of smaller neighbors, can it deny its rival the same prerogative - in Poland, for instance?

Quick fixes, moreover, are rarely that. In 1954 an elected leftist regime in Guatemala was dispatched by an exile army, palpably under U.S. sponsorship. The mintended result was grim: three decades of unstable government, spasms of brutal repression and a ehronie insurgency.

There might still be compelling arguments

for trying risky measures if no other choices ained, but the situation in Nicaragua is not that desperate. Nicaragua's Sandinist rulers have ignored promises to hold elec-tions and have harassed the surviving opposi-tion. But the opposition survives. Venezuela and Mexico urge talks on crucial matters of foreign arms and advisers, a course that has yet to be put to a good-faith test,

The scale of American aid to insurgents is in dispute, hut not the practice. It has a sadly familiar smell. In the absence of diplomacy, an ever-eager elandestine apparatus grows more active. In the absence of elear direction from Washington, those in the field take charge. So it was that joint U.S.-Hooduran maneuvers were scheduled for Dec. 5, within bours of President Reagan's scheduled visit to Costa Rica, Someooe had the good sense to notice; the maneuvers have now been postponed, subject to reconsideration by a sobered State Department.

Let the Newsweek report serve as a warning bell to Secretary George P. Shultz. He would do his boss a favor by asking the right questions about Honduras before President Reagan begins his good-neighbor visit to Latin America. One Bay of Pigs is enough.

-THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Other Opinion

The Freeze Vote

One of the messages that came through at high decibels in Tuesday's voting was that millions of Americans across the country want to see an end to the ouclear arms race. And if the White House and politicians in general were not paying much attention to the the freeze movement before, they had better now. It seems here to stay.

In California and seven other states and in several major cioes, including the District of Columbia, Chicago, Philadelphia, Denver and New Haven, voters supported the freeze by backing resolutions and initiatives that varied in language but conveyed the same sentiment - that it is now time to move toward a verifiable freeze on the production, testing and deployment of ouclear weapons. Only Arizona rejected a freeze resolution, the first state to do so since the movement began.

The White House, which opposed the freeze resolutions, took a cool view of the voting and stressed that they were only advisory and that "some of them are ambiguous." In fact, the White House should take them more seriously than that. .

The Americans supporting the freeze differ on the details of how to achieve an end to the arms race. Polls show that most of the supporters, for example, would not want to endorse moves that would leave the United States in a position of inferiority. Whatever the differences among the supporters, their votes do reflect a broad consensus that the Reagan administration should pursue gennine and deep reductions in ouclear weapons in the negodations now under way with the Soviet Umon.

The domestic pressure on the administration will continue, particularly with more bb-erals in the oew House of Representatives, where a resolution, similar to that on the ballots Tuesday, failed by two votes last summer. There will be an effort to revive it.

For its part, the administration says that it, too, wants a reduction in arms. But the White House argues that votes such as those on Tuesday do more harm than good. Not so. They serve as important reminders to the nation's leaders that Americans want both Moscow and Washington to find some way to end the arms race. And that is a goal that would result in more good than harm.

- The Times (Los Angeles).

On Pakistan

Poliocs is a crucl game. Mrs. Nusrat Bhutto, widow of the former prime minister of Pakistan, has already seen her husband executed, her elder daughter imprisoned and now under house arrest, and ber sons in exile, involved in lurid incidents of hijacking and terror. She herself is restricted to Karachi, forbidden to visit the larger part of her immediate family, and, unless there is a change of heart by the authorioes, refused permission to seek medical treatment abroad for what her doctors suspect could well be terminal cancer. President Zia, who must ultimately sanction her departure, is not wholly without reason for his hesitation. Whether she wills it or not, Begum Bhutto is a natural focus for all the many eddies of dissent that proliferate under Pakistan's military regime. But here, surely, is an occasion where humanity should take precedence over politics.

— The Sunday Times (London).

NOV. 8: FROM OUR PAGES 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1907: N.Y. Museum Defended

NEW YORK - Sir Caspar Purdon Clark director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, has made a vigorous reply to the criticism of the press of Baltimore upon the neglect of the people of New York to avail themselves of the opportunities offered by the institution of which he is the head. The Baltimore American set forth the view recently that citizens of the metropolis oever visited the museum and that the visitors from "Podunk and Red Horse Center, who went there by rubberneck wagon," were much more familiar with the art treasures that the institution contained. "Nothing could be more untrue," said Sir Caspar. "All elasses of citizens of New York

1932: The Uses of Tear Gas

PARIS — Today's editorial in the Herald reads: "When the Germans first turned loose their tear gas in Flanders they could scarcely have foreseen the uses that would be made of it in peacetime. For, hy rendering an adver-sary so lachrymose that be is incapable of resistance, it is a singularly effective device for placing an opponent at a disadvantage in any kind of combat. Thus, it has become as inevitable a part of police equipment as a principal deterrent to mob action, whether by obstreperous college students or deep-dyed Communists. Now a Texan proposes to use it for overcoming the prejudice of African lions against capture and captivity."

JOHN HAY WHITNEY (1904-1982), Charman KATHARINE GRAHAM and ARTHUR OCHS SUILZBERGER, Co-Chairme

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Has U.S. Vote Ended Hope of Détente?

WASHINGTON — Economics having been the big issue, Reaganomics is the obvious big loser in last Tuesday's election. But a second casualty, however innocent a bystander in the minds of voters, may well be what slim prospect

existed for progress on a central issue of foreign policy: the U.S.-Soviet relationship. For reasons having to do as much with Soviet internal politics as with those in the Umted States, it now looks possible that the world's two great superpowers could remain locked in glacial confrontation for the duration of Ronald Reagan's first term. Some would say that this was so in any event - that the Republican congressional losses only increase the possibility.

Whatever the case, the president's current condi-tion is nicely captured in a phrase used by de Gaulle to explain why he was so hard to get along with as wartime leader of the French. President Reagan is now "too weak to bend" — having al-ready struck the tough-guy pose as a calculated

With Congress, of course, he may be forced to with Congress, of course, he may be forced to bend, not only on economic issues but on the huge defense-spending increases that underpin his for-eign policy. But that will serve only to make him all the less willing to risk miscalculation by bend-ing in ways that might invite a little easing of the tension, perhaps even limited accommodations on both sides.

And if Ronald Reagan cannot bend — if be canoot bring himself to abandon the chest-thumping and jungle yells of his "Me, Tarzan" approach to

Voters in U.S.

Sent President

Right Message

By David S. Broder

WASHINGTON — The real he-the voters. They sorted through the mass of sludge that flooded the televi-

sion screens and the mailboxes in the closing days of the campaign and fig-ured out with almost uncanny skill

how to send the message to Washington that they wanted to send. It was a

performance to gladden the heart of

I write those words with more as-

surance than most that have come off this word processor in the course of reporting this intriguing and complex political year. Because the view just

expressed was put in my head by two
of the people who have had the best
fix on the country's mood this year.
One is my colleague at The Washing-

ton Post, Haynes Johnson. The other

the election, Mr. Hart cautioned re-

porters not to accept the White House view that the voters had to

choose between continuing on the

course Ronald Reagan had set, or re-

jecting it and going back to tradition-

al Democratic programs.

The third option, Mr. Hart said,

was to use the election to signal a

course correction - adjustments in

the basic Reagan plan, that would re-duce the deficit, shorten the reces-sion, slow the pace of the military

buildup, stretch out the tax cut, and

stop the cots in life-line support pro-

grams for those suffering from the

economic squeeze.

Mr. Johnson reported that what

the voters want are policies that will bring "an end to the recession and all

the fear and uncertainty that it gen-

crates. It also seems clear what they

do oot want: not dramatic change, or

radical change, nor even Republican

will bead the nation into a more cer-

trepreneurs. For them it is synony-

regulation. The French left is trying

to change that image. Indeed, a cul-

tural revolution is under way in So-

cialist France: the rehabilitation of

with a small family business with 32 cmployees. Today, at 48, he is the di-

rector of a conglomerate that em-

ploys 13,000 persons and turns over some half a billion dollars worth of

business a year. He is rich. And he is

very happy living under the governe-ment of President François Mitter-

Most of Mr. Bidermann's assets

are outside France - in the United

States, Canada, Britain. "Still," he

says, "I have no intention of setting

up in Bermuda. I'm not an expatriate.

And I want to pay my taxes." They

amount to more than a million francs a year, but he is "proud and happy"

A surprising number of French businessmen share Maurice Bider-

mann's accommodating attitude. Their motto today is business as usual, and the Socialists' Keynesian ef-

forts to stimulate consumption have done much to convince them that

they can find a way to live with the

left. This is particularly true in textile

manufacturing, retail chain opera-tions and feed grain production.

Does this mean the rich are con-

gratulating themselves on the left's

coming to power? Certainly not. More than 300,000 wealthy taxpayers

blanched as they wrote out their an-

nual checks to the government this month. But among them there is a

small minority who were not so trou-

These are largely self made men

who find pleasure in taking risks and for whom being rich is a kind of ad-

venture. They have oothing to do with the 20,000 big property owners who live more and less sumptuously

on the earnings of their bonds, build-

The crucial difference is between

real estate and movable property -

and it is entrepreneurs who trade in

movable property who are getting along best with the Socialists. Their business is often international and

their assets, which are largely in dol-

lars, have nearly doubled in the last

Daniel Lebègue, adviser to Prime

Minister Pierre Mauroy and one of

the architects of the new French eco-

ings and land.

two years.

Maurice Bidermann began in 1954

the entrepreneurial spirit.

mous with waste and statist econom

tain course."

At a breakfast a few weeks before

any small-d democrat.

is pollster Peter D. Hart.

By Philip Geyelin

the Soviets - you can be pretty certain that Leonid I. Brezhnev (or whoever is running things in Moscow) is not going to risk rejection, and repudi-ation at home, by moving first. Soviet internal pol-itics are also in transition, and threatened by the paralysis of power struggles.

It is intriguing to speculate on how or when the long-awaited succession to Mr. Brezhnev will come about. But a consensus is building among Soviet analysts in Washington that, as one of them puts "the preparations are well advanced." Mr. Brezhnev's speech at the end of October, and the attendant pomp and circumstance, was read here as a signal of stability — and, for the most part, con-

Nobody's got a timetable. But there is considerable consensus on the likely sequence of events: a new Soviet leadership, emerging in two phases, as cronies and familiar figures give way, in an atmos-phere of some turmoil, to whoever has the staying power for the long term.

"We are talking about the mid-1980s or even

we are taiking about the mid-1980s or even later before we may really know where the Soviets are heading," says one expert. As do others, he figures the first impulse will be to "muddle through" while consolidating power, before making the tough, perhaps even radical, choices necessary to reconcile the failures of the system and the crisis in the economy with huma defense curleys. crisis in the economy with huge defense outlays and an ambitious global reach.

In the period leading up to Mr. Brezhnev's departure from the scene, and for a considerable shakedown period thereafter, the Russians are unlikely to be up to the effort - to the risk - of big changes or new mitiatives. And this owes much to the way almost any collection of Soviet leaders would read the Reagan administration's approach: as unalterably intransigent to the point that any Soviet maneuvering for accommodation would carry with it a politically unacceptable danger of

"The Soviets have given up on Reagan," says one analyst. "For them it's no win. If they play rough, they are to be punished. If they show weakness, Soviet communism is consigned to the ash heap of history." For its part, the administration acts as if it has given up as well — at least in being willing to spell out some basis for a safer, sounder U.S.-Soviet relationship. Rather, the emphasis is on somehow forcing a change in the Soviet system; on achieving military superiority; on name-calling and icy indifference to anything short of capitula-

If the administration could find logic in this approach before Tuesday's returns rolled in, the weakening of the president's command in Congress would seem to make it even more logical to stay with it now. "It will be a cold winter," John F. Kennedy said after his meeting in 1919 with Nikita Khrushchev. The same may be said for the outlook

The Washington Post.



cratic miracle - is that the citizens found the precise means for doing that with their votes last Tuesday.

They struck at the heart of the rig-id, doctrinaire element of the damnthe-torpedoes school of Reaganounics, by defeating 26 House Republican incumbents. Fourteen of them were from the freshman class, elected oo Mr. Reagan's coattails, who saw themselves as the shock troops of the Reagan revolution. Sixteen of them voted with Representative Jack Kemp, the New York Republican, against the 1982 compromise tax bill that restored some of the excessive tax cuts of the previous year.

By taking those 26 Republicans out of the House, the voters ended Mr. radical change, nor even Republican Reagan's ocar-automatic conserva-change or Democratic change, but a tive coalition control. The number of more tempered shift in direction that Republicans and conservative Southern Democrats ready to follow him over the cliff, if necessary, is likely to The amazing thing - the demo- be 10-20 short of a majority.

France Nurturing Entrepreneurs

PARIS — By definition, Socialism By Franz-Olivier Giesbert special favor on a certain kind of rich people and en-

and Jacques Mornand

nomic policy, makes no bones about the government's goals: "We don't want to stop people from making money. But we want them to be the

most creative people, the ones who are taking risks. They are the ones

who are under-remunerated in

France. In effect, we want to turn the

page on the old France of sleeping

Altogether, French assets amount

to some \$7 trillion. Half of that is in

land and buildings. A large portion of it is held in the form of gold and

works of art - what accountants call

"real goods." Stocks account for only

a panper's share. A typical American

his country's industry as a typical

French person does - invested in the

finance minister, is determined to en-

courage what Americans call venture

capital - innovation in existing en-

terprises and the creation of new, pioneering businesses. To this end, he

had granted tax exemptions to cer-tain kinds of stockholders and en-

codraged businesses to draw on their

principal capital to generate growth.

He also hopes to open a new division of the stock market to help finance

Clearly, the new tax structure and

exemptions are designed to confer

Pierre Maurov

stock market.

ivests nearly three times as much in

Jacques Delors, the economic and

fortunes described by Balzac."

That will require him to negotiate with a broader range of moderate Democrats — and to listen to moderates in his own party like Bob Michel, the House minority leader from Illinois, and Representative Barber B. Conable Jr. of New York, who urge more pragmatic policies.

But the voters wisely did oot touch the Republican majority in the Senate. They did oot want to withdraw or cancel the mandate of the 1980 election, when they heeded Mr. Reagan's plea for a Congress that would work with him to slow the pace of federal spending and help curb the consuming cancer of inflation. Nor did they want to restore full sway on Capitol Hill to a Democratic Party which is still some months, if oot years, away from thinking through and articulating its own ecocomic program.

The voters recognized almost instinctively that the Republican ma-

people — investors who have imag-ined the products of the year 2000

and have proved the most inventive

gy, which is ailing, or construction,

which is moribund. Stock market

speculation is also out. The Socialists'

models — even if they do not like to admit it — are a businessman in jeans

from California's Silicon Valley, cen-

ter of the microchip industry, and a

hurried Japanese factory owner from

Osaka, who knows the world market

French businessmen who emulate

them will earn the right to be rich un-

der Socialism. More traditional en-

trepreneurs such as ready-wear man-

ufacturers and exporters will also get

The Socialists, however, are think-

ing above all of small avant-garde

American enterprises like the elec-tronics manufacturer Hewlett Pack-

ard, born in a California garage in

1939 and now one of the most profit-able companies in the world. France

as its commercial balance and bal-

French businessmen are already

learning how to take advantage of the

new Socialist economic vision. Some

find they can obtain credit on the

best terms at the Institute of Industri-

al Development, controlled by the

state, which offers help in the guise of "risk guarantees." Others have redis-covered the old capitalists' approach

of "buying cheap when the market is

What the Socialist are discovering

is that perhaps Adam Smith was right

when he wrote in 1776 that of all the activities at which man has tried his

hand — including war, politics and

religion — making money is the least

Letters intended for publication

should be addressed to the editor

and contain the writer's signature,

name and address. Brief letters

receive priority, and letters may be

abridged. We cannot acknowledge

all letters, but we value the views

of the readers who submit them.

damaging to society.

desperately need such companies

ance of payments show.

DOOL

a share of the pie, as will engineers.

like the inside of his pocket.

in selling such products.

publicans - led by Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee, Pete Domenici of New Mexico and Bob Dole of Kansas — who took the lead on the 1982 tax and budget revisions, which Mr. Reagan at first resisted. The Republican senators who squeaked through last Tuesday to save the Republican majority — John Chafee of Rhode Island, John C.

jority in the Senate is the most likely

source of the "more tempered shift of direction" of which Mr. Johnson and

Mr. Hart spoke, It was the Senate Re-

Danforth of Misscuri, David F. Durenberger of Minnesota, and Robert T. Stafford of Vermont - are senators whose votes sustained that 1982 fiscal policy shift, and who have will be required for future midcourse corrections. Whether Mr. Reagan is wise enough to beed the message of the

election is uncertain. But the voters have done their part hy creating a sit-uation where serious political and policy oegotiations, involving the White House, the Senate and the House, can and should go forward. For all the excesses of the campaign, this election was a wonderful

advertisement for democracy. The Washington Post

Communists In Italy Are **Facing Split**

By Enrico Jacchia

R OME — Prime Minister Giovan-ni Spadolini of Italy has sol-emnly realfurmed in Washington his government's loyalty to its American ally. A few days earlier, Vladimir Za-gladin, a top Soviet official, had come to Rome to test the loyalty of the Ital.

ian Communist Party.
Mr. Zagladin's visit has aroused an enormous interest in Rome political circles. The Communist Party is in deep trouble and no one can prefict

the outcome of its present crisis.

Some observers believe that, after the Yugoslav and Chinese schism, the relatively independent course taken relatively independent course taken by the Italian Communists may be viewed as a third attempt to forge a hereric doctrine in the Communist. Italian Taking place in a most sensitive region, the very heart of the Mediterranean, that would obviously be a calamitous event for Moscow.

Io fact, the largest Communist Party of the Western World is afflicted by a phenomenon common in liberal democracies: the growth of an intermal opposition.

That opposition is still a minority, but quite an active one. Its leader, Armando Cossutta, is almost unknown outside the boundaries of this comtry, but repatedly commands the loy-alty of about 20 percent of the party-rank-and-file members. The opposition he represents challenges the unorthodox policy of the present-leadership and is loyal to Moscow in an almost traditional way.

an almost traditional way.

It is a peculiar situation when a totalitarian party accepts, at least momentarily, that its leaders and being openly threatened by internal opponents. It is embracing the most liberal of all principles: freedom of speech and internal democracy.

There have been suggestions, during these last weeks, that Moscow is secretly supporting Mr. Cossutta's endeavor. Be that as it may, Mr. Zagladin's visit has been a political chef d'oeuvre.

d'oeuvre.
To the Italian Communist leaders, who have opposed almost all recent Soviet moves in international politics, the Russian visitor suggested amiably that they are wrong about Poland and Afghanistan but that it does not matter. What matters is the attitude toward internal politics and economics. If the party leaders still believe. ics. If the party leaders still believe that the state should run the economy, then they are in line with funda-

mental Communist thinking.

But Mr. Zagladin has not spoken only to the party's leaders. Appearing on a program of the national televian a program of the haddens there and addressed the public, including the rank and file of the party and with it, of course, the pro-Soviet opposition.

Now, if the present leadership pushes the break with Moscow on foreign policy too far, the internal opposition, faithful to the orthodox

Communist doctrine, may grow to di-mensions intolerable to the heads of on the other side, however, Italy's economic situation requires a oumber of measures that are unpopular with the workers. In spite of the reassuring views expressed by Mr. Spadolini in Washington, inflation has risen 2 percent in October, reaching a rate of 20

percent per year.

If the Communists compromise with the government and support a oew wave of austerity measures, including a wage freeze, it will be resented by many members of the party as an act of disloyalty to the working class. Yet if they successfully oppose those measures, they will be accused of causing the collapse of what still remains a free-market conomy in Italy.

In both cases, the Italian Comminists hope of showing a new path to their European comrades appears to be severely endangered. International Herald Tribune

What are the best bets? There is clearly not much promise in metallur-

Jewish Complaints

Zionist complaints of double standards hy media coverage and hy world reaction deserve a closer examina-

If Sabra and Chatila represent a minor tragedy in comparisoo to kill-ings elsewhere (Cambodia, Biafra, Dresden) then what are we to make of Israel's own forces who brought death to more innocent civilians on an average "Peace for Galilee" day than PLO's murderers did in Israel over more than 15 years?

Is the same standard applied when 7,000 Palestinians are held in captivity in order to answer for minor terrorist attacks committed years ago in Israel, while not even one person has been apprehended in Israeli-occupied territory following the Sabra and Chatila massacres?

The acid test of Western media hias would be to imagine its reaction with the Middle Eastern roles reversed; with Arab armies wiping out entire Jewish towns and with thousands of Jewish, instead of Palestini an or Lebanese, children being killed or mutilated for life. Which major American oewspaper, TV channel or political commentator would have dared to speak of increased hopes for a "political solution" to the Jewish problem in that case?

Instead of different, Zionists should have the courage to apply the same standards to themselves as the ones hy which they have been only too happy to judge others.

M. JONES.

Surrey. England.

The Prince's Holiday

The writers contribute regularly to the French magazine Le Nouvel Obser-vateur, from which this article is adapt-Regarding "People" (IHT. Oct. 13 & 14): The British Press should have shown more restraint about Prince Andrew's Caribbean holiday, Anything about the royal family is always oews. But a few months ago the prince risked his life for his country. This means that he saw at close range how death randomly choose some of his mates and ignored others. Surely, after this disquieting experience, he has earned the right to savor what life has to offer? Or would the press pre-

fer that Prince Andrew celebrate vic-

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR tory in the tradicional fashion of British football fans by bashing a few

RICK BENGE.

Free Lunch Remembered

Regarding "Memphis Ribs" (IHT, Oct. 23-24): Recalling nostalgically that delicious "35 cent Blue Plate Special" in Memphis 45 years ago. does Mr. Sturdevant also remember those picturesque free lunches in-Manhattan 65 years ago? The customer was simply expected to buy a beer, if he had an extra nickel, he could buy a cigar! "The Five Cen! Cigar" is a symbol still cherished by many old Americans. ESTHER DELCOURT.

A Powerful Lebanon

Regarding "Opening the Mideast Door" (IHT. Oct. 23): The opinion of

the writer disclosed on the above subject is both misleading and unrealistic. Could a oew president of a democratic republic, such as Mr. Amin Gemayel, under the present situation in Lebanoo conclude treaties or signal agreements before his country is freed from all alien forces and becomes equipped with a powerful army that could establish peace and security? A powerful Lebanon in itself is the guarantee cherished by 15rael and all its neighboring Arab countries, a Lebanon that could stand and crush aggressions from whatever direction or source it may

EMILE G. NASSAR. Zurich.

American Influence

Regarding "Jack Lang and His Cul tural Crusade" (IHT, Sept. 28): Jack Lang is absolutely right. The American influence in France is staggering. In 20 years, if anyone's still alive France will be as American as apple pie. Aready the French are chewing gum, smoking Camels and caud those disgusting hamburgers

PETER ADAMS

THE NETHERLANDS

Widening Depression **Dominates Debate** Of Economic Issues

dinguis.

By Hans Beugel

THE HAGUE — Under the stress of an increasing economic depression there is a growing tendency among leading Dutch politicians to quit the ever less glamorous political scene and escape governmental

Whatever their reasons may be, their decisions might open the door of power to a new crew of ministers and political leaders, like the Liberal leader "Teddy" Nijpels, 32, who are not convinced or hereditary addicts leader "leady Nijpeis, 32, who are not convinced or nerentary addicts of a "send the bill to the gas company" policy. Fortunately even among Social Democrats there seems to be a consensus that the revenues of natural gas sales should oo longer be used to subsidize consumer spending. By mere coincidence, the sum of gas export proceeds and estimated value of oil import substitution at present is the equivalent of the federal government deficit of almost 30 billion guilders. The municipalities also contribute to a deficit that is rapidly approaching 12 incrent of a 370contribute to a deficit that is rapidly approaching 12 percent of a 370-billion guilder gross national product. Fieter Korteweg, treasurer at the Ministry of Finance, said, "If the country had used the gas revenues

Industry:

Productivity

By Kim Gordon-Bates

THE HAGUE — The Nether-lands entered the postwar era with its entire industrial base de-stroyed. Immediately, the country was faced with the daunting task of having to rebuild a modern

By dint of effort, new equipment and foreign aid, like the Marshall Plan, Dutch industry subsequently distinguished itself with nearly two

decades of record achievements in

terms of output, competitiveness on world markets and stability of

The 1973 oil crisis dealt a sober-

ing blow to Dutch endeavors, but

were better, cracks were appearing on the surface of an otherwise im-

pressively performing industry. Af-

ter a fairly uneventful first semes-

ter, 1980 turned out to be the

worst year yet for the Dutch econ-

omy as a whole. The recession last-

ed all through 1981 and has dug

Because of the Dutch economy's

by 2 percent, according to the Organization for Economic Coopera-

tion and Development, and only

been conscious of their troubles, il-

center-right cabinet led by Rund

The mining industry produced the most dramatic figures, down

13.3 percent. The recent policy to

decrease in consumption and ex-ports. In the mining sector though, production of the other two, minor

items, petroleum and salt, im-proved slightly to 1.35 million tons

(Continued on Page 8S)

save on energy resources, such as a natural gas on the North Sea continental shelf, explains much of the

well into 1982.

Lubbers.

venly spread out.

Rates Fall

economy from scratch.

to redeem the government's debt of 140 billion, hardly anything of that debt would be left."

Meanwhile, Dutch and foreign investors are falling over each other in their eagerness to finance the government's debt issues. They are attracted by the continuously rising surplus on the current account of the balance of payments, now 15 billion guilders, and next year expected to be close to 20 bil-lion, and the strong position of the guilder among the currencies with-in the European Monetary System. Interest charges on government loans, however, already account for almost half of the financing deficit and could rise to well over 40 billion by 1990 if oothing is

In Rome, Cato the Censor made ancient history by his famous words "and anyway, my fellow cit-izens, I am of the opinion that Car-thage must be destroyed." In Holthe guilder. By the early 1970s, Holland had become the sort of small wealthy nation that others strive to emulate. land, Fond van der Stee, the finance minister, in speeches in the caretaker cabinet, cut his colleagues short time and again by pulling out of his hat "new disappointments" in the budget "which, gentlemen, can only lead to the conclusion that the deficit must be again, by the end of the decade, Dutch industry was on the road to a slow recovery. But though things

In view of the fact that the initial budget deficit for 1982 was estimated at only 16 billion guilders and that the likely outcome will be not less than 28 billion, one can appreciate the decision to take forceful measures. The coalition seems to aim at bringing the deficit down by I percent a year. The pro-posed austerity program will amount to 13 billion in 1983 to be extreme dependency on foreign trade, national statistics tend to give a rather misleading picture. Gross national product in 1981 fell achieved among other things by freezing civil servants' salaries, raising social security premiums and cutting back in the area of public health.

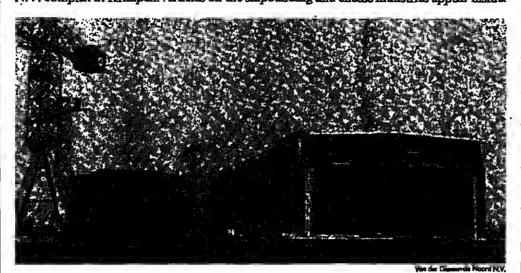
Luxembourg had a worse record. For some time already Dutch po-litical and specialist circles had But the main problem in public spending setting increasingly out of control has to do with the quesinstrated by the yearlong political crisis, which entered a new phase on Sept. 8 with the arrival of a new tion of transferred incomes. Unemployment is rising to unprecedented highs. Officially, 540,000 workers, one in eight, are on the workers, one in eight, are on the sidelines. There is, however, a siz-able "hidden" unemployment among the disabled and ill who benefit from what might be called One of the more pressing prob-lems the oew government has to contend with is the drop in industrial productivity rates, which was 1.4 percent overall between 1980 and 1981 and just over 1 percent in manufacturing, but results are unethe most human and liberal social security system in the world. A less generous implementation of social benefits should encourage those who have joined the army of the

inactive to descrt. The reserve labor force could very well serve as an inducement to prospective foreign investors. By the same token, absenteeism at work is rapidly decreasing and the Netherlands also shows the lowest percentage in Western Europe of work hours lost by strikes. Marcel De Meirleir, of the Brussels-based Plant Location International, said,

(Continued on Page 8S)



TWO FACES OF A NATION: Above, a display of Dutch cheese on the banks of a canal lined by historic windmills. Below, a shipbuilding hall at the Van der Giessen-de Noord N.V. complex at Krimpen. Articles on the shipbuilding and cheese industries appear inside.



New Coalition Cabinet Faces Ailing Economy

By Marc Chavannes

THE HAGUE — In the 1960s it would have been such a radiant cabinet that is oow taking over government in the Netherlands — put together in little more than a month by a gifted economist, busing

nessman and once progressive Christian Democrat, Ruod Lubbers, 44, and the even more youthful Ed Nijpels, 32, leader of Holland's conservative Liberals. Living in the early 1980s, Mr. Lubbers, the cabioet's prime minister, and Mr. Nijpels, its prime parliamentary defender, dare oot say their creation will succeed in anything, first of all in fighting unemployment. They only elaim the cabinet will do what needs to be done to give breath to business.

But it is highly questionable, even to themselves, whether they will really come to grips with the measures their agreement prescribes. The program of the

new coalition was just out of the photocopying room when the partners gave their sharply contrasting expositions of the agreement's real meaning.

Both leaders agreed they would cut public spending in 1983 by the unprecedented amount of 13 billion guilders. After that they would continue with 7 billion guilders a year outhands a processing that are contrasted as the contrast of t guilders a year cutbacks, supposing they can get sup-port for a voluntary 2-percent wage moderation. But what if not? The Liberal leader said: "Then we move over to the 10 billion guilders a year retrenchment schedule." But his Christian Democrat partner said the same night: "Oh, no, we did not agree on any such automatism. We will have to face the situation when it is there."

This kind of dispute was prototypical of the quarrel-ridden center-left coalitions the Hagne has lived through during the past decade and it will be the same during the center-right years ahead. Many a local economist has made a oame by com-

ing up with a new therapy to get out of the whirlpool of sagging trade, massive layoffs and steeply rising government deficits. Coalition politics in a country without clear majorities makes it impossible, however, to test one brand of economic clioir at a time. Maybe that has prevented worse - the virtues of moderation are by tradition hard to discern from the immobility of the minority morass Holland always has been

The Christian Democrats, still the center of Dutch politics, this time picked the Liberals, traditionally

Area: 41,160 square kilometers (16,464 square miles). Population: 14.3 million. Gross national product (1981): \$139 billion; annual growth rate (1981): 1%. Per capita income (1981): \$9,749. Average inflation rate (1980-81): 6.6%. Exchange rate (29 October 1982): 1 U.S. dollar = 2.776 Dutch guilders. Exports (1981): \$68.3 billion. Imports (1981): \$65.8 billion.

seen as the right side of the spectrum, to govern with. The previous coalition with the left did not work, they felt. But the perennial question, where they stand themselves, keeps haunting them, and consequently the other 70 percent of the Dutch who did oot vote for the Christian Democrats.

In the previous cabinet, the Christian Democrats quarreled with the Social Democrats of former prime minister Joop den Uyl about the right way to beat unemployment. Official figures indicate somewhat over half a million, 12 percent of the labor force, while a more realistic estimate approaches the million

The Social Democrats were allowed into government in 1981 only after undersigning a program of cutbacks in public spending sharper than the one they had kept denouncing during four years in opposition. The difference was that they introduced the so-called two-track approach" -- cutbacks combined with ex-

Mr. den Uyl stressed the importance of the second track, being the political leader of the Labor Party and the minister of labor affairs. The Christian Democrat leader, Prime Minister Andries van Agt, and his congenial minister of finance, Fons van der Stee, emphasized budget deficit reductions first and foremost.

Each "track" blamed the other for oot being effective itself. After a year that proved to be the pinnacle

(Continued on Page 13S)

Washington Officials See Strained Ties 'on the Rebound'

By Michael Getler

WASHINGTON — Official relations between the United States and the Netherlands, severely strained in recent years, mostly over Dutch resistance to planned U.S. missile deployments in Europe, are "on the rebound," at least in the view of U.S. government specialists.

One reason, American and Dutch officials agree, was the visit to the United States in April by Queen Beatrix, part of the celebration of 200 years of unbro-ken U.S.-Dutch diplomatic relations.

But the irony of the broader feeling of improved relations is that it has relatively little to do with ac-

tions of either government toward the other. It has more to do with domestic political events within the Netherlands and events outside of Holland and the

For example, the emergence of a new center-right coalition government in The Hague, instead of a pre-vious coalition of the center-left involving the Labor

Party, has probably improved the prospects that the Dutch will begin to take some steps toward participating in the NATO decision of 1979 to deploy the new missiles, both American and Dutch officials say.

According to the NATO plan, the Dutch were to

receive 48 U.S.-built croise missiles and deploy them out first by Moscow and Washington. Those missiles would be part of 572 planned for Britain, West Germany and Italy, which have already agreed to take them, and Belgium and the Netherlands, which have declined to agree to the deployment thus far.

Because the Dutch are among the last scheduled to receive the sew missiles, there is still plenty of time before they are actually fielded. But in order to make those deployments. The Hague occus to decide early next year, according to U.S. and Dutch officials, on taking some steps toward selecting the sites and doing preliminary studies on such things as soil and impacts on nearby communities. Actual construction would

Both American and Dutch officials interviewed recently believe the Dutch government will go ahead with these site preparation steps next year unless it is perceived in Holland that the United States is not oegotiating in good faith at the Geneva arms talks with the Soviet Union. The officials believe that going with site prepare fluence on neighboring Belgium to also go ahead and an important signal to the Soviet Union, which may improve chances of an arms agreement and thus re-move the need ultimately to deploy the missiles. U.S. policy in Central America is another issue that

has strained U.S.-Dutch relations, especially last year when four Dutch journalists were killed in El Salva-dor and anti-U.S. demonstrations in Amsterdam got out of control and forced the closing down of the U.S. consul general's office. American officials know there is still strong disagreement in the Netherlands with U.S. backing for the government in El Salvador but believe that the elections there last March, in which more than a million people voted, has calmed things

down and taken the sting out of that issue, at least for

The imposition of martial law in Poland last December, the internal exile of the Russian dissident Andrei Sakharov, and the crackdown in the Soviet Union on the group monitoring Soviet adherence to the Helsinki human rights agreements of 1975 are also external events that U.S. officials believe probably have an impact on Dutch public opinion and thus indirectly affect relations with Washington. Specialists feel these events may calm the "trendy anti-American" sentiments fanned by the various peace, disarmament and oentralist movements in the Nether-

The Dutch have also undertaken a oumber of other international efforts that Washington finds supportive, including the dispatch of troops to participate in the United Nations forces in southern Lebanon and the international peace force in Egypt's Sinai Desert

(Continued on Page 9S)

Shared Traits, Aspirations Noted on Bicentennial of U.S.-Dutch Ties

By Nancy Beth Jackson

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts — J.W. Schulte Nordholt, a University of Leiden historian, says the Dutch and the Americans have had every reason to be friends in the 200 years since they established diplomatic relations. Economics has been the cornerstone of their relations.

During a three-week visit to Harvard University, where he presented a series of lectures marking the bicentennial, Prof. Schulte Nordholt said, "Both are commercial people. Protestants in origin, very indi-vidual with lots of liberty and the same moralism. They both have always thought they were too good for the world." Prof. Schulte is the author of "The Dutch Republic and American Independence" (Uni-

versity of North Carolina Press, 1982.)

The Dutch-American Inendship is considered the longest, unbroken, peaceful relationship the United States has had with any power, but Prof. Schulte Nordholt pointed out that his country was incorporated

into Napoleon's French empire in July 1810. The American representative to Holland, however, re-mained unofficially in the country, which regained its independence in October 1813.

Prof. Schulte Nordholt contends that for much of the 200 years each country sought to "retire from the world," practicing policies of ocutralism or isolation-ism, but World War II forced them into new partnerships with each other and the world. Dutch forces, for example, served under-the United Nations flag in Ko-

Dutch-American contacts began in 1609 when De Halve Maen, The Half Moon, sailed into New York harbor and up the broad river that would be named for the Dutch ship's English captain, Henry Hudson.
Dutch traders followed building Fort Nassau in 1614
on an island in the Hudson River just below what is
now Albany, New York, to establish what was probably the second European settlement in North Ameri-ca (the British had already settled Jamestown.) The Dutch West India Company, formed in 1621,

received a monopoly on all trade between the Delaware (South) River and Cape Cod. The Dutch were more interested in furs than colonization and chose the beaver as the symbol of New Netherlands.

In 1625 Fort Amsterdam was built on the island of Manhattan. The five farms begun by the Dutch West India Company to feed traders and soldiers intro-duced beets, endive, spinach, dill, parsley and chervil

The 17th century was Holland's Golden Age. No religious persecution or poverty encouraged mass mi-grations, although Dutch traders and farmers did spread out into Delaware, Long Island and the Con-necticut Valley. The trading company's offer of large tracts of free land along the Hudson to anyone who would establish agricultural settlements of at least 50 persons found few takers among the Dutch. The most successful Dutch developer was Kilaen van Rensse laer, whose family continoed to hold almost feudal power near Albany until the mid-19th century.

This first wave of Dutch settlers in North America

differed greatly from their English contemporaries. New Amsterdam and such neighbors as New Haar-lem (Harlem), Breukelen (Brooklyn), Vlack Bos (Flatlem (Harlem), Breukelen (Brooklyn), Vlack Bos (Flat-bush) and Vliessingen (Flushing) developed a cosmo-politan and tolerant society in which a total of 18 languages reportedly were spoken, and Lutherans, Jews and Quakers worked and worshipped freely. Several groups of English colonists settled on Long Island under the Dutch flag rather than join the Puri-tans in New England. New Amsterdam settlers amused themselves with eating and drinking, racing boats and carriages and playing a game called kolf, a forerunner of golf.

Although the governor, Peter Stuyvesant, surrendered the colony to the British in 1662 without a shot, the Dutch are still remembered in New York through place names such as Wall Street, de wal, the palisade marking the northern border of New Amsterdam, and The Bowery, from bouwery, meaning farm, as well as

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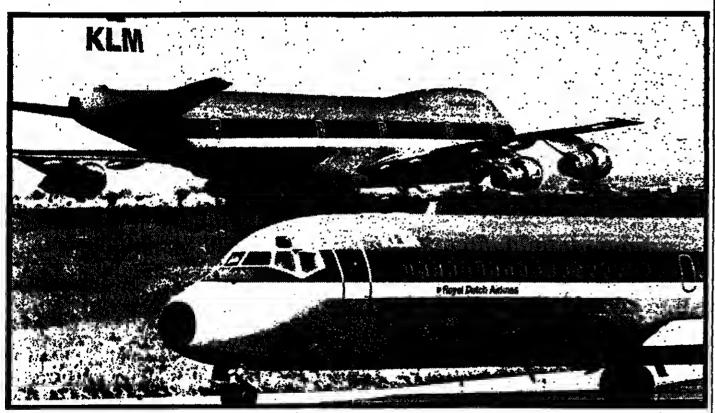
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Widening Economic Crisis Debated

(Continued from Page 7S)

"The Dutch have an international outlook and are well acquainted with foreign languages; they are industrious and loyal."

The infrastructure, with excellent transport and communications, the attractive fiscal climate and special investment incentives, the absence of restrictions on international cash and capital movements, no discrimination whatsoever in foreign business and investment — all these elements make the Netherlands, in the eyes of an increasing number of investors, especially American and Japanese, a perfect gateway to the Eu-

By slowing the expansion in public-sector spending, more scope for private business activities will be created. Supported by a 2-percent rise of the national savings ratio and by sliding interest rates, there is a chance that the anticipated 2.5-percent drop in consumption will be partly compensated by a shift to investment.

But Arie van der Zwan, anthor of the report of the Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy, warned in 1981 of the dangers of a slackening consumer demand. "It could enforce the negative spiral triggered by structural problems," according to Mr. van der Zwan, a university professor who is actively engaged in promoting and accompanying the start of the Industrial Projects Company that is slated to play a dominant role in innovative investments.

Bankers share his opinion that a monetarist approach that concentrates on a rapid reduction of the government deficit might lead to a recovery but from a low level of production and employment and only after a long time. A balanced policy mix should also pay attention to the maintenance of the purchasing power of overall wage and benefit income and stimulation of the concentration.

A structural recovery of the market sector might be helped by an inflation rate that next year is expected to fall to possibly 4 percent, which is low compared to the majority of the European Community countries. Dutch industry, however, should put emphasis on other aspects than just the price of its export products: quality, delivery time, product differentiation and geographical distribution. It should always be borne in mind that dependence on international trade is an essential characteristic of the open Dutch economy.

Also, as an economist pointed out. Dutch interest rates show a striking resemblance to the amount of pocket money one has to pay one's children: this usually depends on what the neighbors pay. Therefore, both short- and long-term interest rates could continue to move gradually downward in line with German interest rates.

Companies will have to concentrate on technological innovation and marketing. The government should create a helpful investment climate by reducing corporate taxes and drastically weeding out bureaucracy. With regard to social policy, certain vested rights in an affluent society that depends heavily on credit will have to be given up.

The very solid banking system in the Netherlands will be able to support companies with a structurally weakened financial position mill the anticipated cyclical recovery takes place by the end of 1983 or in 1984. Until then, as The Economist pointed out, Holland will not be a bad place to be during an economic crisis. Foreigners should not be misled by the gloomy picture of the state of their economy that the Dutch like to paint. It is part of their Calvinist upbringing.

The flower auction at Aasmeer.

Industrial Productivity Rates Fall

(Continued from Page 7S) and 3.58 million tons respectively

Dutch manufacturing infrastructure consists of 27,434 enterprises of which 9,370 have more than 10 employees and 231 have more than 500. Holland's industrial makeup inchades some of the world's most prominent multinationals: Royal Dutch Shell, No. 2 in the world, with a turnover of 558 billion; Unilever, No. 19, \$15 billion; Philips, No. 24, \$13 billion; and others such as AKZO and DSM. Industry accounts for 36 percent of the country's gross national product and provides employment to 34 percent of Holland's available work force of approximately 5 million.

Because of increasing foreign competition, production in the leather and leather-goods industry fell by 8.3 percent last year, whereas textiles and clothing, under continuing pressure from the Far East, slumped by 11 percent. This downward turn was equally perceptible in other areas such as construction materials, down 9.6 percent, rubber and plastics, down 2.9 percent, and the paper industry, down 0.4 percent.

On the other hand, upward trends were observed in a number of key sectors, such as the record export-earning chemical industry, up I percent, consisting largely of gas, petroleum and salt refineries, and in the agriculture and food-processing industry, up 4 percent, which provides 27 percent of total industrial products.

Holland is the one country in

Europe that cannot point an accusing finger at unruly elements causing industrial unrest; not only is Holland the most peaceful European country in terms of industrial relations, but it is also the European Community nation where wage costs have risen the least. The causes of the decline in Dutch industrial productivity lie elsewhere: a 2-percent fall in domestic consumption may be one such factor. Certainly over the past few years the Dutch have become increasingly thrifty and many have had to face sharply rising mortgages. Indicative of this state of affairs, car sales fell by 14 percent last year and similar trends were observed in sales of bicycles, furniture and household articles.

Exports, on the other hand, are up. Ever since its inception. Dutch mercantilism has been geared toward the lands beyond. The drive to secure overseas markets was marked 200 years ago by the signing on Oct. 8, 1782, of the first trade treaty with the United States. Over the last decades as domestic markets came into being the cast-iron ties between trade and industry loosened. Today though, Dutch industry still exports more than 40 percent of total production, or 58.9 percent of gross national product, compared with, for instance, 8 percent in the United States.

United States.

Export figures continued their upward trend in 1982, and are expected to be up 2.5 percent over last year. After 1980's all-time low, Holland earned \$63 billion from exports in 1981. In practically every export sector except natural gas

the volume of trade has increased, but the real windfall arose from the better prices Dutch products were able to fetch on international markets. Imports billed slightly less than exports, \$60.9 billion in 1981. For the first time since 1977, the balance of payments was in excess, a trend that should continue and double in 1982.

Traditionally. Dutch trade has reached markets in the furthest recesses of the globe. Dutch presence remains considerable on other continents, although there is some uneasiness over the fact that this spread is prone to shrinkage. Exports are becoming increasingly Euro-centered, 72 percent of total exports currently going to the Enropean Community nations, more than 40 percent of which goes to West Germany alone, followed by the Belgium and Luxembourg Economic Union, then by the United

The biggest hurdle Dutch industry has to overcome is the marked decline in investments, a trend that has been self-perpetuating and worsening since the 1973 oil crisis. Money that could be mobilized into working capital is being sucked up by nonproductive purchases like government bonds, when it is not exported and invested outside the Netherlands. In real terms, fixed investments fell by 5 percent over the last couple of years. An immediate consequence of the overt "prudence" of traditional Dutch and foreign investors has been the closure of more than 700 Netherlands-based companies since 1979. As a representative of the biggest Dutch union of employers, the VNO, pointed out. "Whatever success we have in other fields like exports, if investments stay low, our short-term gains remain very fragile."

Foreign investment has always

gains remain very fragile."

Foreign investment has always been considerable in the Netherlands, accounting for a quarter of total investments, or about \$14 billion in 1980. Top of the foreign investors' list is the United States, followed by Britain, West Germany and Japan. U.S. investments in Holland since World War II, totaling about \$3 billion to \$4 billion, have contributed to the creation of more than 800 companies responsible for the jobs of 125,000 peo-

The converse is equally true. With more than \$7 billion, the Dutch are the largest single foreign investors in the States. A special agency, the Commission for Foreign Investments in the Netherlands, was set up in 1978 with the aim of rounding up foreign capital, and to date has been successful in attracting \$1 billion to Holland, resulting in the creation of more than 5,000 new jobs. Eighty percent of the newly created enterprises employ 30 or fewer people; but as A.G.M. Weebers, Commissioner for Foreign investments in the Netherlands, said, "All small foreign companies are multinationals in the making." Foreign and Dutch companies have equal status in Holland, the same tax liabilities and the same incentives.

In 1978, to encourage investments, the Dutch government introduced the Investment Account Act, or WIR by its Dutch initials. which offers a tax-free bonus deducted from company taxes or in certain cases bunded out as cash. The benefits of the Act are open to all types of firms, even those without a good profit record, a liberal attitude that has since come under fire.

Otherwise, to encourage ventures in the Hinterland—that is outside the Randstad, the highly industrialized and populated western province centered on Rotterdam—a supplement up to 15 percent of the total investment may be granted if the investor agrees to move to a location chosen by the Dutch government.

But by 1980 it had become increasingly apparent that these incentives were not attracting large sums of money. An Advisory Commission on Industrial Policy was set up under the chairmanhof of G.A. Wagner, who is chairmanhof of the supervisory board of the Royal Duich Petroleum Company (Shell); the advisory commission included representatives from all the other major Dutch industrial establishments, such as Unilever, DSM, ABN.

The first findings, under the title "A New Spirit for Industry," were published in June 1981 and became known as the Wagner Report. The tone of the report's criticism was without complacency toward previous and existing political powers. Seeking to set the ethos for a new era in Dutch industrial history, the commission came up with 23 recommendations.

The report was updated again in June of this year, and whether it had been intended or not. Andries wan Agt's Christian Democrat party adopted it as their electoral manifesto. The report identified 70 potential threats to Dutch industry, from high environmental costs to world stagnation and unfair competition from foreign governments. Though harsh in its analysis, the report did outline a number of positive assets for Dutch industry, such as the availability of the fifth largest field of natural gas in the world, the relatively low rate of inflation, 6.5 percent, and the existence of "large and efficient productive units." And so at the end of the document, the authors were able to express their belief in Holland's future.

Some of the Wagner Report suggestions are already being put into practice. One such novelty is the launching of Dutch incursions into the realms of venture capital. A Corporation for Industrial Projects, MIP, has been set up under the chairmanship of A.G. van den Bos, former president of AKZO. The main originality in relation to the U.S. practice is the unportance of governmental funds and initiative. The corporation's board includes members from the main-stream of Dutch industrial establishments, from the larger commercial banks, from insurance companies and pension funds.

Although top board managers were government appointed, Mr. van den Boe is eager to stress that "the activities of the MIP will be

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THE NETHERLANDS

Missile Issue Galvanizes Protest Movements

Once Isolated Youth Groups Now Seasoned, Organized Campaigners

THE HAGUE — The days when one could dismiss Europe's youthful reformers are gone. Over the past few years peace movements have been growing in the Netherlands, West Germany and Britain,

From isolated bursts of passionate protest have grown seasoned organizations ready to play their full role in the West's democratic processes. Io this, the Dutch movement against ooclear armament, spearheaded by known as IKV, is probably the most remarkable of its kind in

Europe today. Since 1979, the missile issue has been one long and burning crisis in Dutch politics, ostensi-bly provoking the collapse of at least one coalition government, and still hot enough to create serious problems for the newly formed center-right coalition led by Raud Lubbers. Twice already, anti-missile protests, together with successive govern-ments own internal divisions on the issue, have obliged The Hague to postpone for a year at a time the country's final decision whether or not to accept its allotted share of 48 out of the 572 cruise and Pershing missiles to be installed in Europe in accordance with the 1979 NATO ouclear strike program.

Today though, the United States is showing signs of impatience and is insisting on firm commitments from its European allies — and this by the end of the current round of talks dealing with the matter in Geneva. scheduled to conclude by late 1983. By then, preparations to receive the missiles should be well under way as the first batch destined for Britain, West Germany and Italy arrives in early

Precipitating the political crisis, the Labor Party, known as PvdA, led by Joop den Uyl, argued his party's intransigent opposition to deployment as an excuse to break away from a left-of-center coalition governmeot io which partners disagreed on practically every-thing from industrial policy to solving the growing problem of unemployment. But although the party initiated the actual split, there is little doubt that the PvdA leaders were forced to maneuver bearing the IKV in

The IKV was formed in 1966 The IKV was formed in 1966 as a "peace-promoting organiza-tion," with backing from oearly all of Holland's major religious groups. By 1977, the "year of the oeutron-bomb," the IKV had won over substantial popular support and was actively cam-

paigning for a Europe free of nuclear weapons as a way toward a totally denuclearized world. By the summer of 1981, the movement had gained such momentum that it was able to organize some of the largest peace rallies ever seen in Europe - 400,000 people, according to official esti-mates, assembled in Amsterdam on November 21 of that year. The IKV had become a fully pledged pressure group with clearly outlined tasks.

Apart from organiziog "peaceful demonstrations" and convincing established Dutch institutions, such as trade unions, political parties and churches, of the moral and ethical correctness of their cause, the IKV demonstrated a certain degree of political shreweness by avoiding the usual accusations of being idealistic, utopian.
The organization's most out-

mathematics professor, Mient-Jan Faber, explained why: "We do not call for a Dutch with-drawal from NATO. In fact, one of our main tasks is to define of our main tasks is to define very exactly what the Dutch contribution to NATO should be." This sort of approach to protest politics is undoubtedly unique in Europe, and in this way the IKV seeks to demonstrate its maturity. It is not sur-

prising, therefore, that the IKV should harbor a number of criticisms toward the "green" move-ment in West Germany. "They are quite chaotic," Mr. Faber

lobbying lactics was again re-vealed in the spring of this year when major trade-union bodies such as the all powerful FNV, issued an uncompromising statement "against all weapons of mass destruction." Meanwhile, the PvdA had come out unequivocally for nuclear disarmament, and when the IKV released a single strongly worded electoral leaflet in September — though standing no candidates of its own - it was seen as a clear indication that the IKV had accepted the PvdA as a political

In the Netherlands; coalition governments traditionally rotate themselves. This time, the PvdA lost out in the oew cabinet although returning to parliament with an increased oumber of seats (47, a gain of 3), becoming the largest formation in the Dutch political spectrum.

Yet, in light of its own record the ouclear question, the PvdA position does seem slightly mous. When in office, it did effectively oothing to reduce the oumber of nuclear warheads



Mient-Jan Faber

(as distinct, from ouclear shortrange and long-range missiles) stationed on Dutch soil under U.S. guard at Havelterberg, t Harde and Volkel and meant to equip the Dutch army for its six accepted nuclear tasks (Lance guided missiles, Atomic Demoli-tion Munifors, F-104Gs and F-16 Starfighters, Howitzer artillery, Nike Hercules surface-toair missiles and Neptune subma-

In fact, the former minister of defense. Hans van Mielo, achieved something of a semantic tour de force in distinguishing between "passive" prepara-tions (allowed to go ahead), meaning site-location and ordering of concrete, and "active"

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U.S. Officials Predict a 'Rebound' Of Ties Now Strained Over Missiles

(Continued from Page 7S) and in diplomatic support of Spain's entry into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization earlier this

Similarly, it is widely felt among specialists throughout the administratioo that the Dutch, aside from the missile question, do more in NATO than they are generally given credit for. The Netherlands spends about 3.2 percent of its gross oational product on defense. roughly in the middle of the spectrum of NATO members. That is more than Norway, Denmark, Ita-ly and Canada but less than all the

Significant improvement in Dutch convenional forces, includand U.S. designed F-16 fighters and P-3 patrol planes tends to get overlooked in the emotion that swirls around the ouclear missile issue. The unionized Dutch forces also still make other allied military commanders scratch their heads in puzzlement. But within the Pentagon the assessment is that Dutch troops perform well in the field and there is especially high regard for the officer corps.

"We like those guys," is the way one senior Pentagon official put it.
But he also revealed that the Pentagoo has been privately pressing the Dutch government at high levels to try to educate and lead the

decision, if necessary, and not just respond to public opinion polls that verify its unpopularity.

Dutch spendiog on economic as-sistance to developing and underdeveloped countries is 1.5 percent of gross national product, a figure several times higher than that spent by the United States, It is widely recognized as a Dutch willingness to put its money where its mouth is when it comes to human rights and aid to less fortunate socicties. It also undoubtedly has had some effect oo Dutch business operations in the Third World.

In the same way that Dutch attentioo to and support of their conventional role in NATO tends to be overwhelmed in public opinion by the ouclear missile question, it is also generally unknown that the Netherlands is the largest single foreign investor in the United States and that the United States is the largest foreign investor in Holland. Dutch investment in America is said to total some \$16 billion. about one-quarter of all foreign in-vestment, while U.S. investment in Holland is estimated at about \$8 billion. Much of this is undoubtedbandled by the huge Netherlands-based multinational corpora-

As for the smaller investors, Dutch officials say many bave been disappointed by the general lack of response that has come from the campaign to promote business in the United States associated with the yearloog bicenten-nial celebration. Nevertheless, the bicentennial is viewed generally as a plus by both sides in helping to improve at least attitudes between the two nations, whose history of unbroken relations is the longest between the United States and any of its traditional allies.

One American official said, "Maybe it sounds schmaltzy, but a lot of people on both sides have been reminded about what happened 40 years ago" in World War "and of the very long ties." The queen's visit, he said, not only was well received but it halted, perhaps only temporarily, the mutual snip-ing on a number of issues and focused, also perhaps temporarily, on fundamental values and agree-

How durable this feeling of a rebound in relations will be is anybody's guess. Dutch officials with experience in the United States say they believe that country still looks at Holland these days as "a troublemaker, a country with whom basic trust exists but is not an easy

ally."
With a long tradition of neutral-

ism and abstention from international affairs leading up to World War I, with the most vocal antiouclear disarmament movement in Europe and with a newly strength-ened opposition Labor Party, it seems clear that there are many places where open conflict could sprout again with the most conservative and ideological U.S. administration to come to office in many

Yet the impression gained dur-ing interviews with American and Dutch officials is that on the overriding issue of the cruise missile deployments the Dutch, and therefore the Belgians, will probably go along, at least in the site preparations and probably to deployment as well, if it comes to that. There are oo illusions that this will be easy. While there are some in Holland who believe that the cruise missiles will improve deterrence and thus reduce the likelihood of war, there is oo enthusiasm for this deployment anywhere, officials

In the U.S. assessment, however, the Dutch have oowhere else to go. Their role and voice within NATO are at stake, as are their obligations to the alliance. Specialists in the United States and in Holland say they do not believe the Netherlands wants to leave the alliance nor would trust its security to West Germany or France or some other power.

Some officials believe that it is really West Germany that is the linebpin of the ultimate fare of the missile deployments because if any peace movement succeeds in actually preventing that deployment it is apt to happen first in Germany. Ironically, it is the unwillingness thus far of the Dutch and the Belgians to go aloog that bas in-creased the loncliness of Germany, Italy and Britain and the pressure on those countries.

Some American specialists sug-gest that if the missile deployments are thwarted by means other than oegotiations, it could mean an unraveling of the NATO alliance that might even get started in the United States. This could happeo through the combination of a growing peace movement on the left and a growing disillusionment with West European allies on the

In many ways, therefore, the is-sue of Dutch-American relations, dominated these days by a single issue, reflects the mounting concern of people in many countries about how best to prevent war and, if it cannot be prevented, where it will be fought.

Shared Traits, Aspirations Noted on Bicentennial of U.S.-Dutch Ties

prestigious societies of Dutch descendants and Wash-

ington Irving's tales.

Two years before Stuyvesant surrendered, 24

Dutch Mennonite families under Pieter Plockhoy founded a colony of "universal Christian brotherhood," the first atopian community in North Ameri-... ca, at Lewes, Delaware. That utopia was destroyed by the British in 1664 and its inhabitants sent to Virginia

English control, however, did not end Dutch migration. Colonial governor William Penn, whose mother was Dutch, encouraged immigration to his colony in Pennsylvania by publishing pamphlets in Dutch. In 1683 a group of Dutch Mennonites settled oear Ger-mantown, Five years later, they issued an anti-slavery statement, the first formal abolitionist act on the North American continent. (Germantown, despite its name, was a mostly Dutch settlement until the beginning of the 18th century. The Pennsylvania Dutch, on the other hand, are of German origin, their name a

corruption of the word "Deutsch"),
Dutch involvement with the United States began in 1775 as traders out of Amsterdam supplied the rebels military materials through the Dutch Caribbean island of St. Eustatius. Trade was so profitable that

on Nov. 16, 1776, the first foreign salute, 11 shots, was fired to the American flag as the trader Andrew Doris sailed into port. "The Dutch people are for us and for the war," John Paul Jones wrote in 1779 after a hero's welcome in Holland even though Holland and England were allies. But the illicit trade ended when the British destroyed the port in 1781.

John Adams, the American patriot and later president, had already spent several years in Europe trying to convince Dutch bankers, who dominated international banking, to finance the American Revolution and the new country. After the British defeat by American and French forces at Yorktown, the Dutch

On April 19, 1782, the Dutch became the second country to recognize the new United States of America. A treaty of trade and friendship was signed in October 1782. Adams received a loan for Congress of five million guilders from three Amsterdam banks. Other agreements followed; by 1794, the Dutch had lent the United States a total of 30 million guilders, the entire foreign debt of the United States at that

According to Gerald F. DeJong, author of "The Dutch in America 1609-1974" (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975), Dutch bankers began speculating in state and federal securities in the United States by the even if two ships out of three were intercepted, mer-chants still showed a healthy profit. At St. Eustatius late 1780s. The Dutch continued to invest heavily in

the new nation. Much of upstate New York was developed by Dutch investments and the Louisiana Purchase and a large portion of America's railroad system were financed by Dutch investors.

A second wave of Dutch immigrants, seeking eco-A second wave of Dutco immigrants, seeking ecoomic and religious independence, arrived in the
United States in the mid-19th century. These were
mainly lower-middle class farmers who brought "an
ethic of industrial work, practical farming methods,
and a strong desire for agricultural land," Robert P.
Swierenga, a Kent State University expert on Dutch immigration, noted.

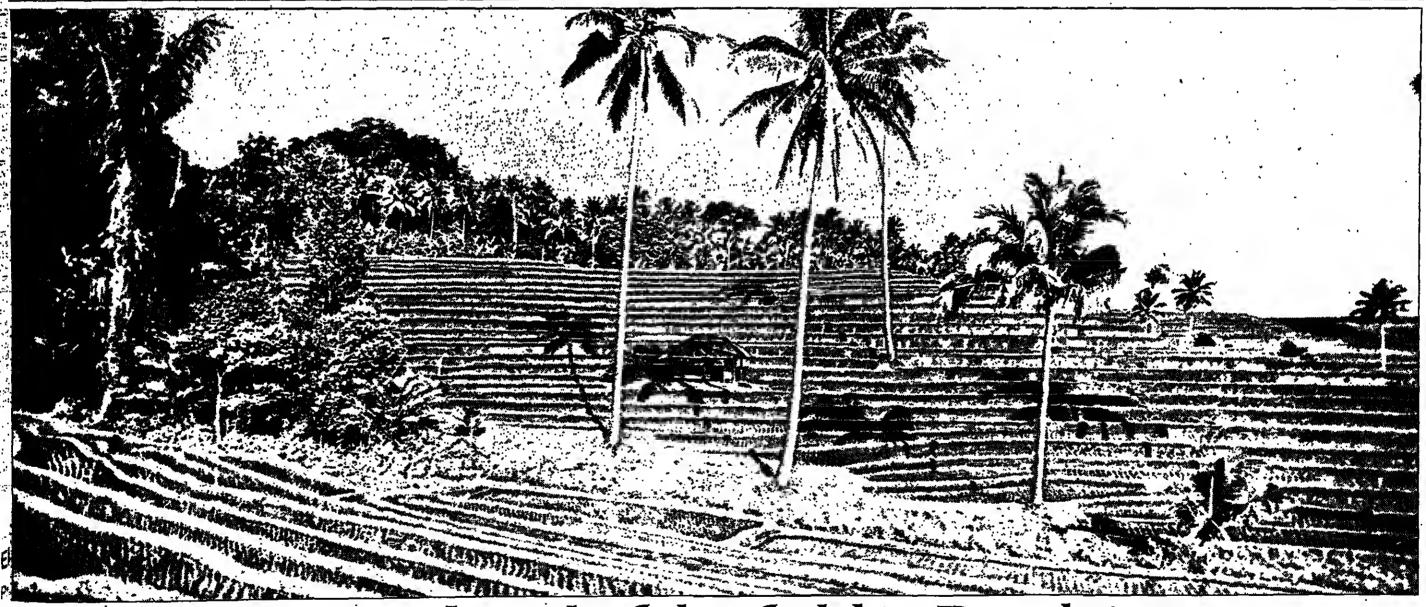
Ninety percent of them entered through New York harbor and traveled along the Erie Canal, which had been planned by an earlier Dutch immigrant, and along the Great Lakes to settle in Michigan, Illinois, lowa and Wisconsin. In 1847, 100 Dutch settlers led by the Rev. A.C. Van Raalte, settled Holland, Michigan, because of the nearness to Lake Michigan, the availability of farm land and the knowledge that Dutch banks had just loaned \$1.2 million to Michigan for the construction of canals and railroads. Other Dutch communities followed, with the immigrants soon dominating the Grand Rapids furniture industry and founding Hope College (1866) in the city of Holland and Calvin Theological Seminary (1876) in

Grand Rapids became the center of Dutch Calvinism in the United States. By the 1970s the Dutch were the largest ethnic group in western Michigan. A muse-um and annual tulip festival in Holland commemo-rate the area's ties with the Netherlands.

Also in 1847, Dutch Calvinists settled about 18,000 acres (7,200 hectares) of farmland in Iowa, naming their community Pella, after the town where Jesus's disciples fled after the Romans destroyed Jerusalem. Two years later, the settlers found themselves prospering as a stop on the route to the California Gold Rush,

A third wave of Dutchmen arrived after World War II. Among these immigrants were 31,000 Dutch-men from the former Dutch colony of Indooesia. Many chose to settle in California because of the climate. Although many of the postwar immigrants were also farmers, since 1960 most Dutch immigrants have been skilled industrial workers and professionals who settled around New York City and Los Angeles.

Famous Americans of Dutch ancestry include Presdents James Madison, Martin Van Buren, Zachary l'aylor, Ulysses S. Grant, and Theodore and Franklin D. Roosevely Jefferson Davis, the Confederacy president; Cornelius Vanderbilt, an entrepreneur; Édward Bok, a journalist; and novelists Herman Melville and



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While the United States, Britain and Canada struggle with undermanned volunteer forces, and other allies, such as France, wrestle with unpopular draft laws, the Netherlands has created an effective, uniquely Dutch army by conscription without stirring any sig-nificant anti-draft sentiment.

By Mark J. Kurlansky

THE HAGUE — "When a NATO general comes to a Dutch base," a Dutch enlisted man cautioned, "he musn't expect everyone to salute him." The

Dutch soldier is not required to sa-

lute officers. He can wear his hair

as he likes, wear earnings, support

nuclear disarmament and be active in one of the highly influential sol-

tary is the draftee. All Dutch men are required to serve 14 months of active duty. The draft age is 19, but it can be, and often is, postponed until the completion of education. There also is the possibility of entering a year earlier and the Defense Ministry is increasing its counseling services to advise young men on the best moment to do their obligatory service.

Although there are numerous ways of avoiding the draft, includ-ing a comparatively liberal consci-entious objector program for those morally opposed to military service, about 75,000 Dutchmen are pronounced fit every year. Of these, about 48,000 are called up to serve in the 64,440-troop army.

tractive as unemployment spreads in the Netherlands. But the Defense Ministry opposes an all-volunteer army because it is thought that such a force would draw from the economically disadvantaged as has happened in the United States since the draft ended in 1973. "Wo don't want to become an army of

unemployed," said a Defense Min-istry spokesman. "It would not be a mirror of the population."

The leading draftees' union, the VVDM (Union of Conscripted Soldiers) is in total agreement with this policy. VVDM leader Kees de Kort, a 26-year-old draftee, said that a vokunteer army would be "a state within the state of all poor

It was the belief that a citizens army should mirror the civilian society that radically changed the Dutch military in the mid-1960s. Dutch society was changing, Long-haired Amsterdam youths were being drafted into an army that at the time resembled the military in the United States and other North Atlantic Treaty Organization

A loosely organized union was formed to support individuals who deliberately underwent courts-martial to test such rules as the dress code. Within one month thousands of draftees joined. By 1971 the VVDM was claiming a membership of half all draftees. Unions were legalized by 1973.

Mr. de Kort sums up the atti-tude of the VVDM, which together with a smaller breakaway group. AVM (General Union of Dutch Soldiers), now claims a member-ship of one-third of the drafted soldiers. "Defending our country is alright but try to see a soldier as an employee in uniform," he asserted.

The unions fight against what they see as exceptional abuses by the military. Ab Damen, another VVDM leader, explained why they opposed the practice of saluting. "It was ridiculous — the greeting and saluting of someone you don't know. [Now] you can greet your superior. You say, 'hello.'"

Now a battle is raging over standing parade duty for the queen. Dutch soldiers don't like to dress up and stand for parades,"

has had little contact with the abling enlisted men of other ess liberal NATO armies.

The parade issue, like carlier issues, is meeting with resistance from career officers. But the Defense Ministry, not the generals, will make the final decision in a slow deliberative process that caused draftees to laugh at last month's decision to allow earrings. The earring issue began three years ago when it was a fad for men to wear them. Earrings for men now are generally out of fashion although occasionally a civilian or

soldier is seen wearing one.
Today, there is nothing left in the dress code to argue about and more serious labor problems are being considered such as the threat of a wage cut under the austerity program of an anticipated new center-right government.
Since militants of the influential

nuclear disarmament group, IKV (Interchurch Peace Council), also are drafted, wide discussion has begun in union ranks on whether working with or guarding nuclear weapons should be a union issue.

and close-cropped hair, a draftee looks like a volunteer. The Defense Ministry and many career officers like to say there is no difference. But most draftees and Dutch civilians say a five-minute conversation suffices to pick out the volunteers. Volunteers tend to be more serious professionals, and in spin of government efforts to normalize the military, the Dutch career soldier, as in many Western countries, is regarded, as one civilian described his soldier brother, as "a

nice guy but a little bezarre." But the government and the mil-itary remain extremely proud of their conscripts. The Dutch draftee has an unusually high level of edu-cation — often higher than the non-commissioned officers. The non-commissioned officers. The military frequently point to the Dutch soldier's reputation for being well-trained, showing good initiative and receiving high marks in NATO maneuvers. The London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies considers the Dutch soldier to be among the better NATO troops.

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Energy: Assessing Needs of the Future

THE HAGUE — Twenty years ago, the Netherlands sprang overnight from a condition of mineral and energy scarcity to be-come the world's fourth largest producer of natural gas, with 4.7 percent of total world

output.

The discovery of the 3 trillion cubic meters deposit of high calorifie value and low sulfur deposit of high calorine value and low sulfur content hydrocarbons, easily accessible under the flat crust of the country's northern Groningen Province, affected the Dutch economy in a big way. The find was lucky for the Netherlands when it occurred in 1959, but it was to be equally beneficial for other Western states in that it hinted at further possibilities under the North Sea, which in due time turned out to be true.

In time with its general economic policy, which places great emphasis on trade and exports, Holland was at first tempted to give short life to its gas reserves. From 1967, half the annual production, which began at 380 million cashed matter in 1960 and marked 68 million cubic meters in 1960 and reached 65.8 billion on the eve of the 1973 oil crisis, was sold abroad, principally to West Germany, Belgium, France and Italy.

In 1973, the oil crisis brought the Western world down to new realities. In the immediate aftermath of the crisis, Holland's onshore gas output rose to more than 90 billion cubic meters in 1973, and peaked in 1976 with 102 bil-hon. In 1974, the first offshore wells began operating, yielding 10 percent of total produc-tion. Since 1976, offshore drilling has been particularly intense as permanent concession rights will only be granted if and when equipment installation is completed by 1983.

The boost in production naturally improved Holland's balance of payments, Holland was able to reduce imports of costly liquid fossil fuels and at the same time sell gas for a good price. State income from gas sales is substantial. Gas accounts for 5 percent of the country's gross national product, provides 16 percent of state revenues and 7 percent of total annual exports, earning \$3.7 billion in 1980. With views interactions of percent of total annual exports, earning \$3.7 billion in 1980. With rising international market prices and re-negotiated sales contracts, Holland expects to harvest a record \$7.4 billion in 1983.

was released from its 250-million-year-old grave, second thoughts on the sagacity of Hol-land's energy policy were beginning to be cast in and around Gasunic, the central agency responsible for the distribution and marketing of Dutch gas. Now that more than one-third of total known reserves had been consumed, the Ministry of Economic Affairs drew up provi-sions to cut production dramatically.

According to J.P. Campen, the ministry's director general for energy, "We want the re-

the year 2000, with an average output of 50 billion cubic meters per annum; the rest should see Holland through the first 30 or 40 years of the coming millennium." At present, 10 percent of internally consumed gas provides Holland with half its electricity; 25 percent supplies 95 percent of total domestic heating; the remaining 65 percent is burned up by in-

dustry.

Time will tell whether the Dutch were wise in switching to a long-term approach to their energy requirements, rather than go for a quick killing on the international market, espe-cially if the deposits believed to be still lying under Norwegian, British and French waters turn out to be genuine. For the time being, 1981's production figure of 82.7 billion cubi meters is an 8.4-percent drop from the previ-

In the neighborhood of its gas wells, the Netherlands finds 7 percent of its domestic oil requirements within its own waters. Drilling for oil started on a couple of offshore sites after the 1973 oil crisis. Today, there is still speculation as to how much oil is available; of the estimated 60 million cubic meters, 65 percent of it offshore, only 20 million have as yet been proven to exist. Unlike gas, oil output is resolutely on the way up, and 1980's output of 135 million tons was increased by 5.3 percent

To make up for the future and present vicis-situdes in hydrocarbon supplies. Dutch energy planners have decided to increase coal imports and turn toward alternative forms of energy, including their old friends, the windmills Windmills were previously used for much more than simply grinding flour, all through the 16th and 17th centuries they drained water from the polders, and, later, wind power was harnessed to operate small-scale industries,

Research on wind turbines began in earnest in 1976 at a previously all-nuclear research station at Petten. The work is conducted under the guidance of the Energy Research Council, which has been charged with finding a way of realizing the Dutch government's intention of having 4 percent of the country's electricity provided for by wind energy in the year 2000. This year, the government carmarked more than \$13 million to finance research.

A number of people already have small wind turbines in their backyards, providing them with free electricity. Because research into wind turbines and aeronautics have many things in common, the Dutch aircraft compa-ny. Fokker, has successfully established itself on the world market for wind turbine rotor blades and other apparatus.

Two 300-kilowatt prototypes, one at Penen, the other near Amsterdam, are stready busy in the sea winds; the Petten turbine has been operational for more than a year. The government's ambitious plan to transform wind energy into electricity at such a large scale, 2,000 negawatts, raises a number of questions, not least the problem of plugging vastly fluctuating currents into the national grid.

If that is a purely technical problem, an arrist's impression of what the Dutch coastine will look like in the year 2000 is a rather nightmarish prospect: more than a thousand 100-meter-ligh propeller shafts happily rounded up in 30-odd "wind energy farms" and making just about as much noise as Kennedy, Schiphol

and London airports put together.

Increasing emphasis is being laid on nuclear energy, from fission and fusion. At Petten, out on the desolate sand dunes of the northwest on the desorate sand dunes of the northwest, the Energy Research Council, jointly with the European Atomic Commission in some instances, is pursuing research into nuclear energy suitability, particularly in the area of waste disposal. Nuclear energy contributes a meager 6 percent of Holland's electricity needs. Further than the second of the second o ther development of nuclear energy has been halted pending the outcome of a national debate scheduled to end in 1984. At present, two small nuclear plants are functioning at Dodewaard, 50 megawatts, and Borsselen, 450 megawatts, and a joint Belgian-German-Dutch fast breeder reactor is under construction at Kalkar in West Germany. ...

The government is also showing renewed interest in coal. Years ago, Holland closed down its old mines in the East and Limburg areas. causing much distress to the local economies. Today, Holland is importing six million tons of coal a year from the United States and Poland and is expected to increase imports to 30

million tons by the turn of the century.

The really tantalizing aspect of coal is that vast layers of the black stuff, said to be more than the entire energy reserves of the whole Middle East, are lying in one enormous streak from the Ruhr to the Midlands of England. But the problem with this coal is that it is lying rather deep, 1,200 meters below the earth's sur-

Lured by such boundless prospects, impressive sums of money are being invested into research on in-situ gasification. The theory is feasible, and similar processes are currently being tried out, though not at such great depths, in the Soviet Union. Exicot, with \$500 million, and the Dutch government, with \$250 million, have seriously committed themselves to digging Holland's way back to the Industrial Revolution.

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THE NETHERLANDS

Shipbuilding: Slump Provoked Renovation

DELFT — In theory, all ship-building nations should have been equally affected when the slump struck Europe's shipyards after the 1973 oil crisis.

Industrialized nations began tentatively switching to alternative forms of energy and very quickly the bottom fell out of the oil tanker market. Then the recession disrupted previously healthy trade routes and soon the shipbuilding industry's other sectors grew singg-ish; by the mid-1970s, anxiety had grabbed hold of the majority of Western Europe's shipyards.

In theory then, everybody should have suffered, and everybody did; but some countries, like the Netherlands, were more prompt in responding to the threat

than others.

While industry as a whole was hit by the recession, shipbuilding was damaged all the more on account of two decades of uninterrupted near maximum capacity production. The seas were saturated with books and decades of the seas were saturated with books. ed with boats and demands for new vessels were practically nonexistent; a huge industrial sector had

The Dutch shipbuilding industry decided to meet the slump head-on. In 1976, a committee with representatives from the unions, shipyard management and government agreed to a thorough restructuring program. The need to find new market outlets was seen as the prime task, streamlining costs came close second and a number of draconian measures were taken, such as the irremedi-able closure of the country's larg-est shipyards, like that of Verolme near Rotterdam, compelled to cease all new ship construction and surviving solely through ship

As a direct consequence of the 1976 restructuring plan, Holland forfeited its capacity to build ships of 100,000 gross registered tons and above; the new markets had to deal with small vessels. It was not an easy thing to do. Since 1976, more than half the workforce in Dutch shipbuilding has been made redundant; today, barely 12,500 workers are employed and then only 3,500 of them build boats of \$500 to the control of 500 tons and up.

After the launching of the restructuring program, new designs were conceived and investments sought to bolster modernization schemes. Slowly a new and viable Dutch shipbuilding industry emerged. In time, it seemed, for if the survey carried out by the Associa-tion of West European Shipbuilders made public early last October is to believed, prospects for the future are even more bleak than first

It is expected that new tonnage requirements until 1990 will be cost prices.

The solution here is an increased. particularly in the case of oil and ucts. Although Holland is in the oil-product seaborne trade, on those previsions calculated only two years ago. Independently from the European survey, the Japanese trade, on process of doing just that, the industry does not feel safe from foul play. According to Mr. Hupkes, the European survey, the Japanese the European survey, the Japanese certain governments, even ones in Association of Shipbuilders con- Europe, have resorted to unfair ducted its own research, and came means of competition, such as sub-up with very similar results, disa-sidized soft loans with interest-free up with very similar results, disagreeing only on assessment of future output. According to average computations, the 1982 surveys have established that the world will need only 607.5 million deadweight tons in 1990, against the 680.1 million projected in 1980. It seems almost certain then 1980. It seems almost certain then 1980 the developing world if we shat the crisis will continue to parthat the crisis will continue to par-alyze, partially or totally, Europe-an shipyards for another decade or

Yet in Holland, there is a glimmer of hope. P.J. Hupkes, managing director of CEBOSINE, the Notherlands Association of Shipbuilders, believes his association has reason to feel confident. He said. "We think that the indus-

try has been sufficiently slimmed down and that we are now entering a period of consolidation open to emphases on modernization, re-

search and development."
In 1981, the Duch shipbuilding industry earned the country more than \$2.5 billion, corresponding to an output of 145,200 gross registered tons, and by the end of last year, order books were decently full, with contracts for a total of 117 vessels (347,000 gross registered tons), mainly for small and general cargo carriers; the con-tracts signed for the future are worth \$6 billion, of which \$1.8 bil-lion stems from foreign orders. A number of Dutch shipbuild-

ing firms can claim a fair degree of

stucces in their respective specializations. IHC, for instance, is able to provide more than 50 percent of the world's need for dredging vesters. sels, used as much for land recla-mation as for cleaning up ports and estnaries. Likewise, another of the bigger companies. Damen, has perfected what could be called the first shipbuilder's "ready-to-wear, a system by which a client may choose the ship of his needs on the basis of a number of convertible prototypes, thus saving the ex-pense of otherwise costly naval ar-chitects. Smaller yards, such as De Hoop, have specialized in oceanographic research crafts, and at the extreme end of the line, in addition to a wide selection of fishing crafts, Holland is one of the

Parallel to drawing board activi-ties, investments have been found to improve productivity; already a sizable number of slipways are covered, a process that is gradually being expanded to the shipbuildbeing expanded to the simpould-ing yards themselves. The \$235-million covered Van der Giessen-de Noord shipyard at Krimpen aan den ljssel, which is on the verge of completion, is said to be the biggest of its kind in Europe, at \$70 feet (264 meters) long, and 171 feet high feet high.

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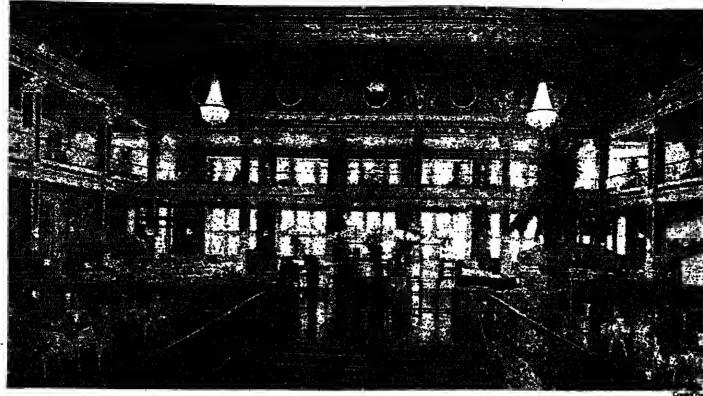
Things are slowly falling into place on Dutch shipyards, but danger looms nonetheless from the Far East and shipyards closer to home. The intrusion of highly competitive "cheap" shipbuilding nations, such as South Korea and possibly China in the age further possibly China in the near future,

is causing no end of concern.
Indicative of this relative newcomer's potential threat was South Korea's ability to clinch a \$14-mil-lion deal with Sweden against competition from the Japanese, something that would have been unthinkable only a few years ago. There is little European shipbuilders can do against people who are able to sell boats 30 percent to 50

loose control of our trade routes."

The Dutch shipbuilding industry has the means to win the war it set itself some 15 years ago. The fact that next January the Association of West European Shipbuilders is moving from London to Delft, home of CEBOSINE, might be seen as an encouraging sign in it-

- KIM GORDON-BATES



SUCCESS AT SCHEVENINGEN: The concert hall of the restored Kurhaus Hotel at The Hague's beachfront resort reo-

pened in 1979 as a restaurant. Gradual, but intense redevelopment has made the resort a popular tourist attraction.

Tourism: Keeping Up With Industry's Growth

MSTERDAM - In a densely A populated country like the Netherlands, tourism can adapt to economic woes. In times of crisis it may be difficult to attract the longdistance tourists who visit in more affluent times, but there always are 14 million Dutch to be convinced they can have a good low-cost va-cation at home. And because of the country's size, there are neigh-boring populations on all sides that are almost as close.

Han Cornelissen, director of the Netherlands National Tourist Office, is beginning to worry that there will not be enough hotel rooms in the future to accommodate travelers. The growing tourist trade earns about \$7.5 billion a year and is one of the top four economic activities in the country.
In 1980 Dutch people represent-

ed more than 80 percent of the hotel roomnights in the Netherlands. Tourism is continuing to grow among the Dutch and their neigh-bors, the Germans, the Belgians, the British and the French.

The problem is that tourism is both seasonally and geographically uneven. Fifty percent of tourism is in the four months from May to August. The only evolution in this is a slight drop in August over the past decade but a marked increase

One of the major reasons behind spring tourism is the increasing popularity of the famous Holland tulip season. For six or seven weeks from mid-April to the end of May, tourists flock to the northwestern province of North Holland to see the fields, gardens and hothouses of blooming tulips There also are flower shows in the neighboring province of Sonth Holland between Haarlem and

The seasonal nature of Dutch tourism also is the result of attracting ontdoor tourists. Biking, hik-ing, boating, and canoeing are pleasant and accessible in this green, flat, water-veined country of perfect, scrubbed farms, antique villages, rich green polder land and quiet woods. But it is obviously more enjoyable in the warmer sunnier months, and especially in the months when the fruit trees are in

Internationally the cities remain the biggest draw. Amsterdam, with its dozens of museums, hundreds ntation for free and "open-mind-ed" nightlife, receives 40 percent of all the foreign room nights in the Dutch hotel business. Every year more than 1.5 million foreign

ers and 2.5 million Dutch visit the because tourists only stay an aver-

overlook the western and northern

This international tourism is encouraged by such offers as the \$5 "culture card" sold in the United States and Japan. The card gives free museum entries and opportumities for normally impossible last-minute tickets for the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra and

Amsterdam can be a difficult city in which to find a hotel room, and reservations are advisable. But even with a growth in tourism, Amsterdam's botel capacity will be able to handle the trade in the foreseeable future. This is partly

age of two days in the city. Vacationers crowd into the well-known provinces of the east and south. Even the Germans tend to

regions along their border. The provinces of North and South Holland get the bulk of tourism not only because of tulips and Amsterdam but also for The Hague and Rotterdam, the country's second and third largest attractions for foreign visitors, pulling in about 15 percent of the country's non-Dutch hotel customers. These provinces also have

most of the coastline, an area of

growing popularity, especially with Germans.

The picturesque smaller towns and villages offer many of the features associated with the Netherlands — the quiet town of Delft with its famous 430-year-old ceramie factory, Lisse with its tulip show and Gouda with its cheese farms and markets.

The central province of Utrecht, just east of South Holland also is a popular and growing destination because of its central location, the historical city of Utrecht and the large wooded area east of the city.

- MARK J. KURLANSKY

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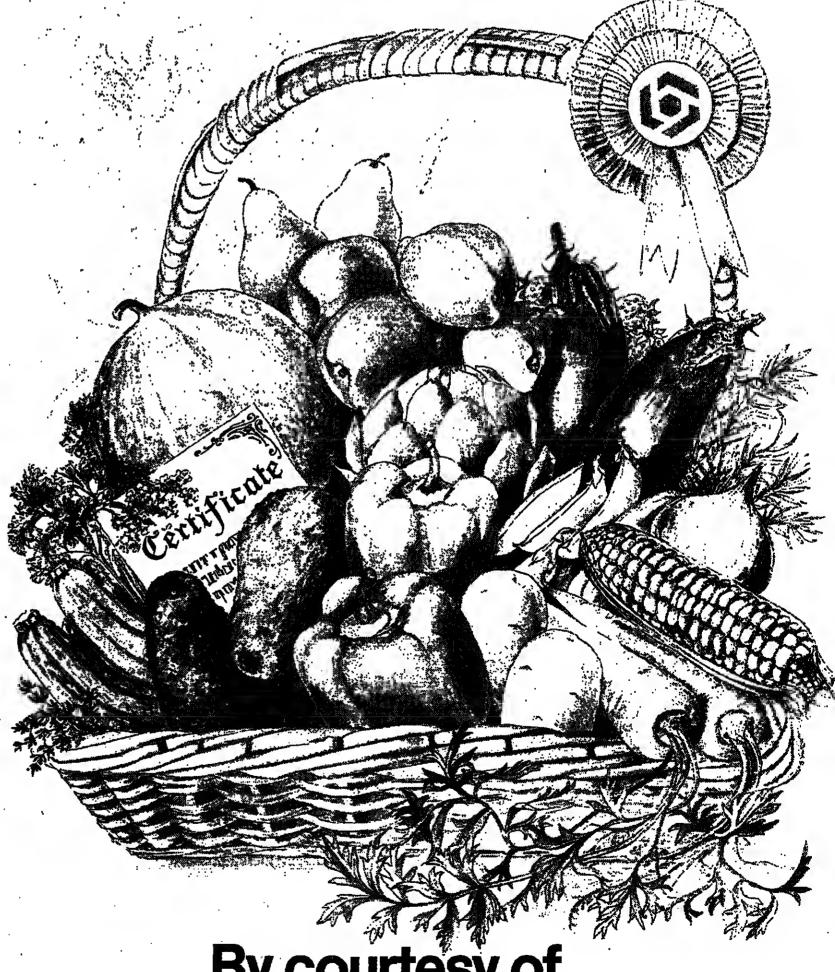
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THE NETHERLANDS

Banking: Provisions for Loan Failures Rise

By Vivian Lewis

WHEN THE Dutch central bank opened a when the Differ central tank opened a new agency in Enschede last month, its governor, Wim Duisenberg, took the occasion to reassure people that there is no reason to fear a wave of bank failures. "Apart from isolated cases of great problems, there is no reason to panic," he said.

Worries arise because to some extent in 1980, and even more in 1981, Dutch banks greatly increased their provisions for loan lossgreatry increased their provisions for ioan losses. In 1982, according to experts, provisions will again rise sharply. The effect last year at almost every leading Dutch bank was to cut sharply into net profits. In fact, at only two banks in the Netherlands were profits maintained at the levels of preceding years. Most dramatically, at Slavenburg's Bank, which France's Credit Lyonnais bought last year, the allocation for contingencies are up more than allocation for contingencies ate up more than 78 times the bank's net profit.

The total available to Dutch banks for loan losses, the so-called "hidden reserves," is unknown, because banks do not publish the drain from contingency funds for nonperforming loans. The practice of requiring banks to make provisions and then publish this information may not be a sign of weakness, but of strength. It was imposed on banks by Mr. Duisenberg's predecessor until last February, Jelle Zulstra.

The more cynical among Dutch banking experts would remark, however, that although Dutch banks collectively may exceed the solvency requirements of the central bank (fixed at the close of 1981 at just over 6 percent, while banks in fact achieved a ratio of nearer 9 percent), the central bank has in the past decade reduced its requirements from levels nearer 14 percent. (It should be ooted that the definitions of the factors and their weightings has changed in this period.)

The system runs on moral suasion. Johan Kleitorp, chairman of the board at merchant bankers Pierson, Heldring & Pierson, said, "The central bank keeps an eye on provisions, but there are no formal guidelines." At his bank, a 49 percent rise in provisions in 1980 was followed by a more-than-doubling in 1981, while profits were halved.

At archrivals Mees & Hope, provisions rose by over 40 percent in each year, while profits fell slightly. There chairman Dirk van Wensveen said, "Bad debt provisions are vol-mtary, but bankers feel obliged to make

Only two major banks escaped the bad debt provisions debacle last year. One is Rabobank, the agricultural cooperative bank, which is one of the Dutch "Big Four." Rabobank gives mortgages on land, so when farms fail it is left with collateral wbose precise value cannot easily be calculated, or offset by provisions.

Algemene Bank Nederland, one of the two big private clearing banks, was the other bank that managed to increase profits last year. Chairman Andre Batenberg said, "We were able to stabilize our dividend because we are a leading international bank and a leading corporate banker, and have a smaller exposure in loans to small and medium sized companies." He added: "Having an international network does not necessarily mean that we have taken on sovereign risk business. Our presence in 43 countries attracts local deposits so that local

loans are not financed from Amsterdam. The other clearing bank, Amsterdam-Rotterdam Bank, known as AmRo, which is less international and has 30 percent more Dutch branches, was not spared, nor was the fourth big bank, Nederlandsche Middenstandsbank (NMB), a specialist in lending to smaller com-

panies, and in which the Dutch government holds 22 percent of the shares.

Even Algemene Bank may not do that well this year. It is the leading Dutch bank lender to troubled Argentina and Romania. And in the first half of 1982 it raised its provisions by 65 percent against the first half of 1981. Banks have been burned by some spectacu-

lar Dutch business failures recently. But io addition, banks have had to face a steady grind smaller, unpublicized business failures. As long as the Dutch economy remains depressed, these will continue.

So far, however, oo bank has actually made loan-loss provisions so large that it reported oo profits at all. But as the crisis worsens there is serious concern about how long this can con-

Banks have few alternative sources of funding, with the stock market depressed and bank stocks discounted below book value. Cost-cutting is one temptation, although so far no other bank has copied Nederlandse Crediet-bank, in which Chase Manhattan has 31.5 percent of the shares. Although the bank's personnel costs, at less than 1 percent of footings, are among the best-controlled in the industry, management has announced that 30 percent of the bank's offices will be shut.

Other banks may yet follow suit. Klaas Baas, a deputy director at Pierson's, expects banks "to cut costs, without affecting labor, by 10 to 15 percent." But this will be insufficient. "Banks like AmRo and Rabobank, I believe, will also close some offices," he said.

Rationalization often means mergers, and the Dutch banking industry is oo exception.

Both AmRo and ABN are the products of mergers in the mid-1960s. Each absorbed a merchant bank, Mees & Hope and Pierson's respectively. Various small Dutch banks subsequently were gobbled up by Mees & Hope and

But these days the big merger wave is among the savings banks, most of which are organized

as nonprofit companies, in Stickings. The largest Dutch savings have Centrumbank, itself formed by merger. This year will absorb two smaller savings hards, so as to push its balance sheet total from 8 billion guilders to

O hillion.

Given the present state of the sector, it is not surprising that the government is unenthusiastic about new hand sopening. No obstacle has been placed to the arrayd on the Dutch scene of more than 40 foreign-owned banks or branches. But Robeco, the home Dutch-based mutual fund, managed only with difficulty late last year to wrangle central bank permission to open a high-yield savings bank.

last year to wrangle central bank permission to open a high-yield savings bank.

Called Roparco, it operates like an American mooey market fund, but the central bank required that withdrawals be restricted sharply. This burden, and the sharp fall of Dutch interest rates — Roparco was paying only 7% percent in October — have discouraged doposits. Total deposits have only just topped 500 million guilders, which is well-below target.

Central bank concern about commission in

Central bank concern about competition is beginning to color plans to merge the two government-owned near-banks, the postal savings banks and the national Gird, to create a full-service "Postbank." The idea first put forward by Mr. Duisenberg when he was a socialist-politician, is now-being questioned by the new liberal-centrist coalition. It is feared, too, that, in the present Dutch banking climate writing. in the present Dutch banking climate, putting pressure on bank profits is mixed and that the government, the unique shareholder of the Postbank-to-be, will have to cover future loss-

Mr. Batenberg, an outspeken opponent of the Postbank plan, said that its logic has disapthe Postbank plan, said that its logic has disappeared. Losses of the Giro do not result from lack of size, but from "failure to follow commercial banking practice and doing everything possible to increase market share," he said. Of Mr. Duisenberg, he speculated, "I'm afraid he regrets a little bit his earlier positions." But Mr. Batenberg warned that it would be difficult for the governor to withdraw his suppose. cult for the governor to withdraw his support for the postbank merger.

Gerrit J. Tammes, a board member at NMB, is reassured that the Finance Ministry will be kept more at a distance" under the latest versions of the Postbank scheme, but fears that even slimmed down to the business it may do, "you will see some sort of Postbank even under the new government next year and I won't exclude that it will open on January 1, 1984."

Of total Dutch bank deposits of 150 billion guilders, general banks account for a quarter, the savings banks for 20 percent, the cooperatives, including Rabobank, for 40 percent and the postal system the rest. But postal deposits. at 2,500 guilders per account, are the lowest, and therefore most expensive to service, of the

Face the facts

NMB Bank's key figures as at December 31, 1981 (in millions of Dutch guilders - 1 US\$ = Dfl. 2.47).

Dfl. 55,513 Total deposits Dfl. **52,383** Dfl. 32,100 **Debtors** Total shareholders' equity and subordinated loans Dfl. **2,163**

Balance sheet total

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- The combined balance sheet total increased in 1981 by 16% to more than Dfl. 55 billion.
- Debtors increased by 12% to more than Dfl. 32 billion from Dfl. 28.661 billion at the end of 1980. This increase is largely attributable to the growth of our foreign loan portfolio.
- As part of our branch office programme, a number of NMB branches were opened in 1981. The total number of NMB branches at home and abroad amounted to 481 at the end of the year, with employees totalling 10,918.
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- As a member of the Inter-Alpha Group of Banks, we have a joint representative office in Tokyo.
- Revenue from stock exchange business again showed an even greater percentage rise than overall stock exchange turnover.

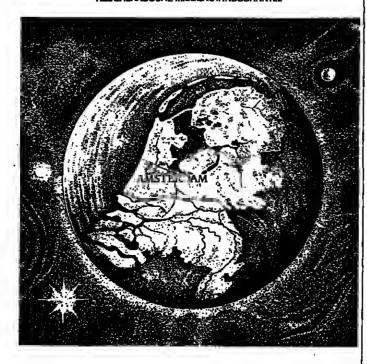
• Eurodeposits accounted for 18% of the combined balance sheet total.

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NMB Bank. We bank the way the world does.

Source of Worry: Industrial Productivity Rates Declining At the moment the corporation sistance to the lame ducks of inbeing devoted to research and de-

(Confinued from Page 8S)

free of government intervention." According to Mr. van den Bos, the corporation has already more than \$240 million at its disposal, including \$135 million from government sources, ready to be used to buy minority participations of those projects that are "not too labor intensive, not dependent on awk-ward raw materials and that do not duplicate existing industry."

has about 20 dossiers outlining projects of \$1 million or more each. For smaller ventures, a oetwork of 12 venture capital funds exists through various banks. In theory, the first MIP participation should be taken in a year's time.

The guidelines of future Dutch industry are contained in the Wag-ner Report, the main thrust, of which is to provide only limited as-

Dutch industrial fabric has dwindled from 25 percent of product output in 1950 to a bare 7 percent in 1979.

dustry, to boister the competitive velopment and to the financing of nature of those Dutch products that have already demonstrated their worth and to help the re-Having been open to the world for so long, Holland is again trying to reconcile the contradictory pull conversion of ailing industries like textiles, whose importance in the

of trade and industry. As J.W. Hillege, deputy direc-pregeneral for industry in the Ministry of Economic Affairs, put We intend to create Industry Finally, increased attention is and Trade-Netherlands Ltd."

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THE NETHERLANDS

Cheese: The Best Is Not for Export

GOUDA — The Durch keep secrets. For all their celebrated free commerce, internationalism and openness, they sometimes hold out. For example, they export more than 130 million pounds of cheese every year but keep the best ones for themselves.

In the last century, after American farmers sent European grain farming into a decline from which it has never recovered, Dutch farmers turned to large-scale dairy production. By the turn of the century they began making cheese off the farm in factories.

There are now 73 cheese factories in the Netherlands. Exports earn \$500 million annually. Only 2 percent of Dutch cheese is still produced on farms and it is rarely exported. But it is superb cheese, resonating with a richness of flavor and depth of character far beyond the factory products that bear the same names.

There are still about 750 Dutch farms that make cheese. The number varies. Since milk prices are guaranteed by the Common Market and it takes 10 kilos of milk to make a pound of cheese, when the cheese price drops too low some farmers sell off all their milk. At the moment the price of cheese is good — for the farmer. The Dutch are increasingly returning to farm cheeses. While the number of makers is declining, farm

cheese production, according to the Dutch Dairy Bureau, is rising.

The first important difference between a farm cheese and the industrial product is that farmers use raw milk. The cheese is usually made in the morning from the previous evening's milk. Factories pasteurize milk, which removes bacteria that give an intensity and colorfulness to the

Each type of cheese has e prescribed percentage of butterfat in the dry mass (cheese is about 40 percent moisture.) In factories this is regulated by computer and excess fat is removed for other uses. On the farm, cheese is almost always over the fat minimum because farmers do not try

Gouda, a relatively rich cheese, has to be 48 percent fat in the dry mass. In the early fall, after the cows have been grazing for weeks on rich summer grass, the fat content can be as high as 56 percent. This is why October goudas are highly prized by connoisseurs, although, depending on the farm and the season, September goudas can be as good or better.

The third major difference is that farm cheeses, like all artisanal prod-

Missile Issue Galvanizes Youth Protest Movements

(Continued from Page 9S) preparations (frozen), like the actual pouring of concrete into

At first sight, the September 1982 elections appear to bave eleared the way for a break-through for the Dutch delegation in Geneva where Mr. Faber fears an unprincipled settlement that "they might argue that 572 is an exaggerated number of missiles to have in Europe, that the number can reduced. leaving out the Dutch contribution for instance."

This possibility is not wel-comed by the IKV since it does not challenge the fundamental question on the need for a nuclear deterrent of any sort. In this regard, it is said that the new coalition leader. Christian-Democrat Rund Lubbers, is something less of a pro-nuclear hawk than his fellow CDA member and for-

mer prime minister Andries van
Agt, who resigned last month.
It can be safely assumed that
the turnaround in the Dutch
government will not mean
smooth going for NATO negotiators. Although sitting on opposition benches, the PvdA is not behaving as if it has had its wind knocked out of it. The party is. fully prepared to take advantage of the fact that "a strong minority against deployment exists inside the CDA," Klaus de Vries, one of the most prominent PvdA members of parliament, said, "and we are prepared to hit them with everything we've got."

Inside the government coali-tion, if some CDA members are indeed showing signs of hesita-

(Continued from Page 7S)

of nongovernment (which means something in

postwar Dutch history), it was time for new elections. They were held in September and brought gains to both Social Democrats and

Liberals, the two parties with sharpest con-trasting economic views.

The election was a slap in the face to the political center that kept things going last summer: the center-left Democrats 66, a year ago

the fast rising "reasonable alternative," were now a disillusioned recollection of the hopeful

1960s. Equally disappointed, though not nearly as damaged, was Mr. van Agt, who saw his

Christian Democrats lose only three seats out of 48. His personal and political distaste and

disbelief in effective government with the Social Democrats kept him on the scene while in September the possibilities of a new center-left

government were tested. The socialists, having sathered the largest number of seats, were allowed the initiative in the long-winding ritual Dutch cabinet formation has come to be.

After a month the Christian Democrats

showed the socialists the door, mainly for their absolutist stand against the siting of NATO nuclear-armed missiles in the Netherlands.

The following talks with the Liberals seemed

much more constructive. Then an amateur of unexpected maneuvers. Mr. van Agt, 51, announced his unavailability for the new cabinet that was to be his fourth. After 11 years, a

controversial but popular politician quit the stage, leaving the random props and unwritten script to his successor. Raud Lubbers, a mil-

In less than three weeks Mr. Lubbers and his Liberal colleague, Mr. Nijpels, produced a

tion, the conservanced of the VVD is firmly convinced of the necessity of establishing the ultimate nuclear deterrent on Dutch territory.

But even the VVD itself is not free from debate within its rank; here though, it is simply a ques-tion of whether Holland should house short-range Pershing missiles rather than a full consignment of long-range cruise to "transport the battlefield from German territory deep inside Russia. The VVD is confident that the IKV is losing ground. Ever since the events in Poland, the IKV has kept a very low pro-file; people are seeing that de-tente with the Soviet Union is an illusion," one source said.

Mr. Faber disputes this claim. Not only is the IKV growing in strength, he said, but ties have been made with peace groups in-side the Eastern bloc, including Sobdarity in Poland, Charta 77 in Czechoslovakia and groups in Hungary and East Germany (from which he is barred.)

Mr. Faber, citing from a speech made by Mr. van Mielo, said "it will be physically impossible for NATO to deploy its missiles against the wish of the Dutch people...democracy kills nuclear weapons just as nuclear weapons kill democracy." Often enough in the past Dutch protesters have shown their ability to stop U.S. ammunition trains from rolling through Holland, and certainly following a year-long hill, the streets of Amsterdam have recently again become the scene for demonstrations. **— KIM GORDON-BATES**

Declining Economy Challenges New Cabinet draft governing agreement to their parliamen-tary following. Admiration for the, to Dutch standards, remarkable speed waned at first

sight of the 100-odd pages that came out of their secretive dealings. Although the economic paragraphs had a firm tone, many vital questions were left open. Within a day the parliamentary majority of Christian Democrats and Liberals started shrinking back from some of the consequences of the harsh policies they were about to subscribe to, especially the Christian Democrats, who, eager to maintain a center profile, reopened talks about key financial economic decisions. The Liberals in turn tried to get more solid arrangements, for instance in reform of the media. The program was heavily reworked and became clearer, to both opposing views. So uncertainty will continue to rule the

The unpredictability of the new government has been increased by the number and weight of the cabinet posts the Christian Democrats have managed to obtain. Having fewer seats in

Parliament, the Liberals did not set out to bar-gain heavily for equal representation in the cabinet, but going through the finish their youthful captain seems to have negotiated too liberally. Now the vital ministers of finance and labor affairs, Onno Ruding foreign af-fairs, Hans van der Broek, and defense, Job de Buiter, are Christian Democrate. So is the Ruiter, are Christian Democrats. So is the prime minister, Mr. Lubbers, hailed by his perty as their new political power plant. But others, his Liberal partners included, have criti-

cized his way of reasoning, saying the flow of his thoughts is often irreproducible.

Mr. Lubbers apparently is aware of the demanding character of his long awaited office. If the erratic side of his brilliance may remain within the limits of versatility and the output of his prolifie mind within the line of march he agreed upon, he may grow into the man the country needs. So far as his Christian Democrat Appeal Party might have other wants, there will be a problem, although that is one the country has developed a certain routine in

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A traditional display at the Alkmaar cheese market.

cts, vary from farm to farm. This is not only because of the skills of the farm women and the family recipes but because of the differences in dairy herds. Certain regions, and even particular farms, develop a reputation for certain cheeses. Those farmers can get better prices. The farms around Stolwijk, about five miles (eight kilometers) south of Gouda are renowned for gouds cheese

Factories buy their milk from numerous farms and produce uniform products under electronic control. Neverthless, the province of North Holland, a traditional dairy region, commands higher prices because of a reputation for quality factories.

Although 70 percent of all Dutch cheese, and an even greater percentage of Dutch farm cheese, is gouda, this ubiquitous cheese is misrepresented, misjudged and mispronounced (it should rhyme with howda.) Gouda is made in factories and on farms throughout the Netherlands. Cheese names indicate only where the type was originally made.

The gouda made on the meticulous, and que farms of the wet and fertile polder land around Gouda in South Holland is the most prized

Dutch cheese. This verdant farmland with pastures from reclaimed sea beds and roads along narrow raised dikes is still very much cheese coun-try. Here, there are serious cheese markets from June to November every Tuesday in Bodegraven, Wednesday in Wooden and Thursday in Gooda.

It is not like the cheese markets of Alkmaar and Purmerend in North
Holland where the government subsidizes the sale of factory cheese with traditional costumes and wagons. In the Gouda markets farmers take their cheese to be thumped for the size of boles, caressed and bartered over and finally sold in a series of dramatic hand gestures.

In Gouda, cheese is still a way of life. The farm women have soft

hands from the protein-rich cards and wheys, the pigs are raised on the leftover whey and in the early fall, when extra cream is left in the whey, a slightly sour butter is churned from it and sold to the locals.

A farm gouda can be sold after two weeks and eaten after six. But eating a farm gould young is like drinking a great Bordeaux young. It seems like a waste. At six months a gould is mature and what was a mild, rich cheese develops character. After a year it becomes darker, more orange, a little harder and sharper in taste with an explosive bouquet like an aged port. After that there is a trade-off. The taste becomes better and better but the texture becomes drier, harder, more crumbly. Connoisseurs avoid small goudas, which in any case are mainly factory exports, because the larger the cheese the longer it can be aged to achieve the oldest, most moist gouda possible.

Edam cheese, which represents another 25 percent of Dutch cheese

production, has clung less faithfully to its namesake in North Holland. There are only two farms left that make it, one near Edam and the other in the western province of Drenthe. It is a drier, leaner cheese with only 40 percent fat. The rare farm clams are easen either young or aged but because of a lower moisture content cannot be aged as long as gouda.

Leiden, or leidse in Dutch, is a very lean cheese with 20 percent fat in the authentic farm version, with a rust-colored rind. Factories have dou-

bled the fat content but the original idea was a very plain cheese that could then be livened up with berbs or spices, particularly cumin seeds. This was also true of friesland cheese; friesekous, which was usually mixed with cloves. It is now entirely factory made and Friesland farms make gouda.

The Dutch have in recent years developed a passion for mixing traditional seasonings such as nettle, cumin, cloves and gartic not only in leiden and friesland cheese but in farm and factory gouda, numerous goat and sheep milk cheeses, a dozen newly developed factory cheeses and even, occasionally, butter.

There are several sheep milk cheeses, schapenkaar, made on the farms of the Wadden Sea island of Texel. The younger ones are softer, with slight muttony taste. The older ones are harder and sharper. A pungent goat cheese is made in Ankeveen.

Dutch cheeses are marked with a casein label that fuses with the cheese. Round labels are used for factory cheeses and barrel-shaped for farm cheeses. They give the name of the cheese and the fat content. Farm cheeses, never coated in red paraffin, are marked boerenkous over the word Holland with the farmer's number underneath. The first two letters of the code at the bottom indicate the origin - NH for North Holland, F for Freisland or HB for other regions.

One of the best selections of farm cheeses in central Amsterdam is Kaashal, Damstraat 23. De Beethoven, Beethovenstraat 69, in Amsterdam Zuid has a good selection of both farm and factory cheese.

—MARK J. KURLANSKY

Rotterdam Sees Itself as Europe's Port

By Friso Endt

OTTERDAM - In the last week of October a trade delegation from Rotterdam toured countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Headed by Rotterdam's mayor Bram Peper, 24 Rotterdam municipal and port authority representatives and businessmen visited Kuala Lumpur, Jakarta, Singapore, Manila and Bangkok. Their aim was to "sell" Rotterdam and its port in

"We are here," Mr. Peper said in one of the cities, "to make you aware of the fact that Rotterdam's is not only the busiest port of the world, but very much the main gateway to the western and northwestern European hinter-

And indeed the economic pulse of Rotterdam beats far beyond the borders of the Netherlands. As the lifeline to a vast territory, Rotterdam throbs with the commercial rhythm of the entire European Community and its 240 million Europeans. Nearly all European capitals and important industrial centers are no more than 600 miles (960 kilometers) away.

The influence of Rotterdam, not only as a port but also very much as an industrial and trade center, carries much farther than just the Common Market, which itself is a major trading partner for most of the world. Rotterdam's share of seaborne trade in the nine most important European ports, which also include Amsterdam, Antwerp, Hamburg, Bremen, Emden, Le Havre, Dunkerque and Marseilles, totals 39.9 percent.

It all began about 140 years ago in 1858 when a Rotterdam engi-neer named Pieter Caland offered the Dutch government, and in particular King William III of the House of Orange, a plan to dig a new waterway from the city

straight to the Hook of Holland, cutting through the dunes of the North Sea and making the port of Rotterdam entry-free for seagoing ships. Caland argued that the wa-ter coming from the Rhine would be forced toward the North Sea so quickly at low tide that the outlet would stay deep enough for the ships of those days.

Today the Dutch Ministry of Waterways has the most sophisticated laboratories and computers at its disposal to study the likely effects of such a plan. In 1858 Caland had only his strong belief that it must be possible. The Dutch believed in Caland, in 1863 the revolutionary plan was carried out and in 1871 the first ships were sailing along the Hook of Holland.

In a way Caland's idea did not work out so well: the outlet of the New Waterway did not stay at depth. Tons of sand from the North Sea threatened to make the outlet unusable. But the Rotterdammers soon found a solution: in 1877 a steam-powered dredger was stationed at the Hook of Holland and today 12 modern dredges are busy day and night to keep the world's busiest port accessible for ships up to 250,000 and more tons. Since 1871, every year has seen more ships sailing along the New Watership. Waterway.

But much more has happened:

In 1945 the port of Rotterdam emerged from World War 11 with only one quayside usable and the rest destroyed. Today more than 4,000 industrial companies produce a diversified range of products and offer work to more than 133,000 people. Most of these companies are situated along the 35 miles of the New Waterway from the city to the North Sea. They are involved in metal production, machinery, shipbuilding, electronics, transportation equipment. optical industries, food, beverages, tobacco, oil, chemicals, rubber and

facturing, paper and printing.

The trade and transport section includes another 6,300 companies, employing 118,000 people. This greater Rotterdam region bas become an international distribution center because of the extensive trade facilities for crude oil that include the five refineries of Shell. Esso, Chevron, Gulf and BP, and trade facilities for oil products, chemicals, fruit, hides, nonferrous metals, rare metals and alloys. cereals, edible fats and oils, tropical products, fertilizers, plastics,

fodder, coffee, tea, cocoa and

The concentration of petrochemical and chemical companies combined with transportation and trade facilities has made Rotterdam Europe's energy supplier, al-though the import of oil has de-creased considerably during the last few years because of energy-saving measures in Europe and the decreased demand of European industry caused by the worldwide re-

Still, the major oil companies and chemical industries have announced recently a number of investments totaling \$4.4 billion over the next 10 years. Some of these Esso: \$1.68 billion for expansion and new projects like the cogasification plant and a coal term

nal to be built on the Meus Shell: \$800 million in expar

sion projects and improvement c

production processes Chevron: a number of proj ects requiring investments up to several hundred million dollars ar being studied.

• AKZO: \$200 million for a

electrolysis plant. Oxirane: \$400 million for ex

Container handling has become major factor in seaborne trad and the Rotterdam region handle more than 1.3 million containers. year. Plans are being made to en large the facilities, and toward the end of the 1980s the number of containers handled is expected to be at least two million.

Since 1945, the Port of Rotter dam Authority has invested mon than \$1 billion in the harbor area for building bridges, roads, tun nels, quays, piers, terminals and se on. Plans have been made to build additional essential facilities cost ing a further \$1 billion, at curren prices, by the year 2010.

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What puts a domestic bank among the world's top 50?

Since Rabobank seems to be a mainly domestic bank, that ved from the membership in the needs some explanation: Rabobank is a co-operative banking organization with 3,100 offices in the Netherlands. Therefore on-the-spot services are available in every part of the

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Amsterdam: City Of Rapid Change

A MSTERDAM — When J.F. income by the state. Amsterdam retailers who have abandoned the elite market that still flourishes in come by the state. Amsterdam retailers who have abandoned the elite market that still flourishes in come by the state. businessman never cries about last year," he demonstrated the paradoxical strength of the people of the city. Although Amsterdam, steeped in four centuries of trad-ing, is one of the oldest modern usiness centers in the world, the people seem to profit from their istory without dwelling on it.

Even along the city's causes, where offices are housed in 17thcentury architecture, there is little hime for nostalgia. Amsterdam may look like a museum of the but its social and economie ife shifts with frenetic speed and nergy. Burgomaster Wim Polak complained: "This is a city undergoing very rapid change, whereas people coming as tourists here hink they are coming to a very

Amsterdam's population has become migratory. Every year about 10,000 people leave and 30,000 people move in. The result is not buly 140,000 fewer people than in 1968 but also a very unusual demographic composition. The middle—the middle class and the middleaged — has left the old narrow houses and confining canals, for

They have been replaced by a ess affluent mixture of immigrants and youth. In addition to a high ratio of elderly people, there are two universities and 19 percent of the population are registered stu-

These unusual demographics have created unusual market patterns. For example, the cinema in Amsterdam has declined about 20 ercent, while live theater is flour-

The once fashionable shopping streets such as Kalverstraat have been taken over by "the jeans rade." Retailers have either adapted with a less expensive, younger ine of merchandise, moved or one out of business.

New, more up-market shopping areas have sprung up away from the center in Buitenveldert and Amsterdam Zuid or in the adjoining but separate town of Amsteien or in further away communities such as Hilversum to the east and Heestede to the west.

Another factor is nivellatie - a Outch word that means bringing everything to the same middle level. This was the goal of the Dutch socialist experiment of the 1960s until 1976. One result has been an increase in the mass mar-

cities with greater income disparity such as Paris and embraced the

mass market have done well. As the fourth largest tourist attraction in Europe, Amsterdam receives more than four million tourists annually. A large percentage of the tourists are young hence an in-crease in the oumber of cheaper hotels and restaurants, fast-food ootlets, bars and pubs.

Obviously there is money in this trade. Tourism annually brings the city \$222 million and provides directly and indirectly 25,000 jobs. It also saves some declining traditional industries such as diamonds by direct sales to tour groups.

Business and government do not

hide the fact that the 6,000 prostitutes who picturesquely pose in windows along some of the city's oldest canals provide an important tourist attraction. As long as prostitution is kept from spreading into djacent commercial districts, Amsterdamers — especially those in tourism — wish this famous local enterprise well.

Industry, particularly older industries, has not been thriving. The port, which is connected to the fering from European economie ailments. The once prosperous shipyards are in a severe decline, despite a recent boost from con-

tracts for North Sea oil projects.

The recent decision to close down the Mobil refinery at the port does not represent a major ob loss, but was termed by P.Y. Hondius of the Amsterdam Industry Association (AIV) as "a psychological blow."

The port itself handles about 4,000 ships annually with 20 mil-lion tons of freight. Rotterdam is now the largest port in the world. and Amsterdam can no longer

The port's warehouse busines also is declining because there is more trading on paper and less ac-tual shipping of commodities. Timber merchants who used to be a major warehouse client now avoid costly stockpiling. On the other hand, the city remains a ma-jor cocoa center and 20 percent of the world's cocoa production passes through Amsterdam.

While the city has had its share of bankruptcies and closings, including the closing this year of a Ford plant, some industries are healthy. They are mainly small companies. According to City Hall, 27,000 of the 28,000 compaket because Dutch youth and poor nies in Amsterdam have fewer are guaranteed a minimum level of than 50 employees. The city em-

Eating in City of Youth: Fast, Inexpensive

A MSTERDAM — The first impression, noting that at least half the streets in Amsterdam are lined with restaurants of every imaginable nationality, is that this is a great eating city. But because Amsterdam has become a city of youth, it is a place for bars and pubs, snacks and the inex-

Furthermore, the prosaic Dutch enisine is for homes and not great restaurants. Almost entirely cooked on top of the stove, it is a hearty, warming, Nordic cuisine, featuring hot and filling soups,

heavy stews and thick pancakes.

If you want to go Dutch because you are there, there is nothing better or more authentic than the raw, cooked or smoked herring, mussels, eel and kerel. It is available in many bars, as an appetizer in restaurants, and on paper plates or on a roll, broodje, from fish markets and delicatessens everywhere in town. After the herring season opens in early spring, small herring wagons sell at

There are a few quiet, charming restaurants with well-prepared dishes in warm, enticing settings. They are expensive and their wine lists are sometimes unconscionably high priced. Their cooking is usually rooted in Dutch products but. in true Dutch style, they do not besitate to borrow from the Beltians and French.

There is smoked fish, brown bread, platters of young Westland vegetables, well-finished sauces with justly famous sweet Dutch butter, pastries with sweet northern cream and chocolate, which the Dutch have been trading for centuries, and a wide variety of game with traditional seasonings,

such as juniper berries. Two places for good dining are Le Palais, Ledsestraat 65, and Restanrant 't Swarte Shaep (The Black Sheep), Korte Leidsedwarstraat 24. Le Palais has a young staff and a modern sense of chic informality. The Black Sheep, on the other hand, is an old institution lodged with decorum in the beautiful dark wooden setting of a 1687 house.

In the vast choice of foreign restaurants, there are a lot of mediocre tamales and mundane moussakas. A few restaurants stand out, as much for their charm as their food, such as Centra, Lange Niezel 29, in the heart of the red light district. This lively bar and restaurant is one of the most Spanish north of the Pyrenees, an atmosphere greatly enhanced by the dozens of Spaniards snacking at

Food from the former colony, Indonesia, has become a local specialty. The star rifistafel is a meal of 12 to 20 small dishes, most of which turn out to be not particularly well seasoned or cooked - such curiosities as green beans unfortunately overcooked in coconut milk or indelectable meat in an overpowering sauce.

For the curious, Sama Sebo on the newly fashionable P.C. Hoofstraat (27) is a cozy pleasant place with a better rijstafel than the famous, overdone Bali on Leidsestraat. Reservations are need-

-MARK J. KURLANSKY

phasizes small businesses in an ef- Amsterdam. As the financial cen- nies. Goods may be stored indefifort to fight unemployment, which, at 10 percent, is slightly less than the national average.

The Amsterdam printing business employs 11,000 people and is supported not only by a flourishing advertising business but also by 166 publishers with a reputation for quality and the ability to publish in almost any major lan-

Amsterdam was originally a trading center and it has rapidly replaced declining manufacturing activity with services.

The Amsterdam Confectie Centrum is a 58,000-square-yard 48,500-square-meter) center for the ready-to-wear clothing indus-try. The center has been imitated in other cities including Brussels, Paris and Zurich. It was originally planned as a center for Amsterdam clothing manufacturers. But as cheaper foreign competition began to eliminate local manufacturers, the Confectie Centrum became a trade center instead. The Amsterdam clothing business imports six times its 1965 rate and has tripled its exports.

Amsterdam always has been a financial center. It has the world's first stock exchange, today listing more American companies than any other exchange in Europe. The European Options Exchange has grown rapidly since it opened in

In 1970 there were only four for-eign banks registered in the Netherlands. Today there are 37, with 32 of them headquartered in

ter grows, related services are nitely in these warehouses without growing also, including insurance, paying European duties until they brokerage, advertising and public

The 17th-century houses that were built for merchants along the canals have provided the office space for these services up until now. There are 7,000 protected the middle-class families, services are moving away from the center in search of more space and freedom to build. They are moving to the south or new development areas where there are modern

roads and parking facilities. Even two of the major hospitals merged to move into a suburban medical center to get more space. In spite of a ghit on office space in parts of the center, there is a waiting list to get into the Confec-tie Centrum in the south. A new World Trade Center is under construction on the periphery of the city and the NMB bank has invested \$69 million in building a new complex on the outskirts. New areas are springing up along the "ring" road, a semi-circular highway that is to encircle the city by 1987. The AmRo (Amsterdam Rotterdam) Bank has new headquarters in Sloterdijk, along a new rail line scheduled for completion in 1985 from the Central Station to

Schiphol Airport, with its system of privately owned bonded warehouses, has made Amsterdam an important distribution center, attracting many foreign compapaying European duties until they leave the zone.

More than half of the 120 Japanese firms in the Netherlands are based in Amsterdam, a distribution center for companies such as Canon, Ricoh, Yamaha Motor, Mitsubishi Auto and Nikon.

With the combined attractions a duty-free zone and highly skilled labor force, Amsterdam is becoming a computer and electronics center. IBM, Honeywell Bull and NCR are among the companies located in the city.

While some of the large foreign companies only have one-man of-fices or a distribution facility in the airport area, others have invested more deeply. IBM Nederland, with the help of a \$78-million investment from the parent company, showed a \$44-million profit in 1981. They employ 6,000 people in the Schiphol area.

The influx of activity on the outskirts of the city does not mean that the center is dying or being relegated to tourism. Most Dutch companies, especially banks, prokerage firms and other financial services, prefer to maintain an office along the canals for receiving

Mr. de Lange summed up the fast pace of Amsterdam's commercial life: "So we are losing and we are gaining. It depends on how old you are and what your view of the

Third World Aid Viewed by Public And Government as 'Commiment'

THE HAGUE — When the industrialized nations of the world began talking seriously 10 years ago about a remedy for Third World poverty, they made a pledge at the United Nations to raise their official development assistance to a minimum of 0.7 percent of their respective gross national products. The Netherlands is one of the few countries that has kept

The Dutch have steadily enlarged their aid and development spending, so that by last year they were spending a larger part of their gross national product - 1.08 percent - on government Third World programs than any country in the world. Only three other countries, Sweden, Norway and Denmark, have kept the 0.7-percent pledge. The 1981 average was 0.35 percent. The United States was toward the bottom of the list with 0.2 percent.

The Dutch commitment transcends political par-ties. It began under the socialist government of Joop den Uyl, has continued unswervingly under the center-right and center-left governments of Andries van Agt and is expected to continue under the new gov-

One of the primary reasons is that it is extremely popular with the Dutch public. Ferdinand van Dam, in an interview shortly before he left his Foreign Ministry post this month as deputy director general for international cooperation to take up duties in Washington as an executive director of the World Bank. said that the idea of aid in the Netherlands is on a noralistic and religious footing."

"France is much more motivated by keeping cul-ure and trade alive," Mr. van Dam said. "Then you [the French public] begin to ask if it is worthwhile. That is never asked here. You don't even have to show results. It is the offer that is important."

While the Americans and French tend to talk openly about aid as a means of securing spheres of influence and opening markets, the Dutch, in a firm Cal-vinist tone, insist that their aid is. first and foremost. moral commitment. The official communiqué for 1983, Netherlands Development Cooperation Policy, states that the first major element of development philosophy is "deep moral considerations.". The second element is that disparity between rich and poor is a threat to "lasting peace." Only third is a vaguely worded statement that it is "in the interests of the rich

The amount of aid will increase in 1983 as it does every year because it is not calculated on the UN scale of percentage of gross national product. Instead, the Dutch have made a long-term policy of devoting 1.5 percent of the net national income to Third World aid and development.

The bulk of this money is concentrated on 13 "target" countries, as well as Surinam, the former colony of Dutch Guiana, which is guaranteed development money under its decolonization treaty. This list was formed through a number of factors. Indonesia is the only former colony of the targeted 13 countries. Need

is a main consideration, although the need for direct

food aid in Upper Volta had to be measured differ-

ently from the need for technology and investment in An attempt is made to target countries that have a policy of redistributing wealth in an equitable manner. There is an attempt to further equal rights for women and buman rights is also a stated criterion. Although the Foreign Ministry claims to want to avoid the politicization of the development policy, the

risk of this is inevitable.

Human rights is a particularly sensitive area. It is against policy to use aid as a weapon against human e and what your view of the rights violations but the government says it is obligated to respond to "the most flagrant violations." Aid to Chile was cut off after the 1973 military coup d'etat. Uganda was also cut diring the rule of ldi

Amin.

Cuba was one of the targe definities and when the center-right coalition of Mr. Agt replaced the Socialists in The Hague government in 1977 there was a strong undercurrent to drop the from the list. But the issue of aid as a pobitical section was nearly side-stepped by the new development minister, Jan de Konig. Mr. de Konig believed that the list of target countries was too long for the Newschilderal relationship that were envisaged with each order. Cuba, Jamaica. Peru and Tunisia were dropped from the list for being less needy.

Apart from the target his cortain geographical areas, such as the sub-Sahari are also being given priority for direct food aid. The from of Africa region is under consideration. Recommended aid is being directed at Zimbabwe and Nicesons.

directed at Zimbabwe and Nichesta.

India receives more Dutch at than any other targeted country, about \$96 million inmally. An experiment with broadened cultural the economic relations began in 1981. It involves numerous ministries in coffinancing projects with Dutch builts. The government will finance up to one-third of project undertaken by Dutch or Indian companies inparately or jointly, if the project is deemed "relevant to Dutch development policy." Even greater government participation is possible if the project is slow to take off or has a low profit potential. low profit potential.

Durch development policy relies heavily on interna-Durch development policy relia heavily on international organizations and is a strong supporter of such groups as the Umited Nations Children's Fund, the UN High Commission for Refugees, the World Bank and the International Development Association. The Netherlands was among the officines that swiftly pledged additional funds to make up the shortfall in funds for the IDA after the Remain administration's decision this year to reduce U.S. participation.

Although the Dutch are usually not eager to criticize the United States, there is grading irritation over President Ronald Reagan's Thurk World policy. Mr. van Dam said, "ft is a policy that is very much a

van Dam said, "It is a policy that is very much a hindrance and frustration."

He claimed that he was recustured on a trip to Washington in the summer of 1981 that the United States intended to keep markets open to developing countries, support international development organizzilons such as the IDA and concentrate aid on the poorest nations. He said that the United States has since "changed its mind" on all of these points.

"They are not really concentrating on the poor," he said. "It is going to Egypt and Israel and countries

where they have military bases."

The Dutch are determined to maintain their development policy with or without their larger allies, and spite of a deteriorating economic climate, which has caused them to borrow heavily to finance their own deficit. The official 1983 development policy statement says, "The Netherlands should not seek to solve its problems by passing them on to weaker members of the world community."

However, with budget cutting in the air, develop-ment insiders fear more of what they see as pirating of their budget for nondevelopment projects, as has

pened last year when money was needed to help Southeast Asian refugees living in the Netherlands.

There may also be some fights about who receives the aid. There is a growing tendency to favor impoverished black Africa and to back away from what Mr. van Dam called "politically aggressive countries." particularly Arab. The Dutch still begrudge the Arab countries their unsuccessful attempt to boycott the Netherlands in 1973 for its support of Israel.

-MARK J. KURLANSKY



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BUSINESS/FINANCE

EUROBONDS

By CARL GEWIRTZ

Bankers Fear Flood of Issues May Surpass Market Capacity

DARIS - New issues flooded into the Euroboad market last week, with \$1 billion worth of bonds — about half of the total current calendar — launched on Thursday and Friday.

By week's end, bankers were fearful that the volume was more than the market could handle and the terms were becoming less attractive. The Federal Reserve's failure to cut its discount rate, as had been widely forecast, will be an added negative when trading opens Monday.

The boom appeared to catch everybody by surprise. After languishing for the previous two weeks, the market exploded following the U.S. election. Analysts were unsure whether the positive response here reflected relief that the Democrats failed to score impressively or joy that the gains the Democrats did make in the House would force President Ronald Reagan to temper his economic policies.

ini'i inst. ig term yen... ECU medium term.....

Market Turnover

Total Dellar Resivate 7,733.9 4,850.5 863.4 13,989.2 12,321.2 666.0

Whatever the reason, there was no doubting that investors want dol-lar-denominated bonds. Evidence that the U.S. economy is still in re-Eurobond Yields
For Week Ended Nov. 3
Int'l Inst. lg. term US\$
Ind. long term, US\$
Ind. medium term, US\$
Can.s medium term
French fr. medium term.
Int'l Inst. lg. term wen.

cession has investors convinced that dollar interest rates must decline further and that coupons on offer now represent a last chance to lock into such relatively high yields.

This view is obviously not shared by corporate treasurers, who raced to fill the demand. The

European buying panie once again dropped the cost of floating new issues here below the cost of what any of the borrowers could have hoped to pay in New York. As a result, the calendar was top-heavy with quality U.S. corporate issues - a favorite for European, particularly Swiss, investors.

Especially ooteworthy about the especially obteworthy about the current demand is that investors appear to be indifferent to the length of the maturities. Only weeks ago, the rage was for eight-year paper. Now, investors are gobbling 10- and 12-year bonds. Japan Air Lines, in an admittedly small issue (a currency swap into yen), and the World Bank for \$100 million, were able to float 15-year issues — a maturity span the market had given up for obsolete.

For all of the market's apparent exhibitation, the effervescence appeared to contain a large element of speculation. The bulk of the new dollar issues are offered on a delayed- or partial-payment basis. Purchasers of Bank of America's \$100-million bond need put up only

25 percent of the price now and the rest oext September. Buyers of Coca-Cola's \$100-million bond can pay 25 percent now and the rest in June. The \$75-million issue for SNCF, the French state railway, requires a 20-percent immediate cash ontlay with the remainder due in February. General Electric Credit blended the delayed- and partial-payment formula by requiring an initial payment of 14½ percent on Jan. 5 and the terminder cert buly.

remainder oext July.

For Du Pont, which increased its offering to \$150 million from the intially indicated \$100 million, Export Development Corp. of Canada, General Foods and the two World Bank issues, payment is set for Janu-

Speculative Edge

The theory behind this is simple enough. Committing now for payment later allows investors to speculate that bonds bought now will carry higher coupons than bonds to be offered next year. In addition, for investors having to sell their local currency to buy dollars, the later payment allows them to hope that they can effect the foreign exchange operation at lower cost if the dollar declines from its current peak against all other currencies.

Orion Royal Bank has estimated that \$1.8 billion will be available for investment in January through repayment of principal or payment of interest on outstanding issues. Fund managers and individuals who know they will have money to invest then can commit those funds now and obtain bonds bearing coupons that may no longer be available then

- The same is true for payments later next year. bankers wormed about bow we placed these new issues are. Will the paper come flooding onto the market when payment dates arrive? And if coupon levels have not changed significantly will the flood — if it is a flood — be absorbed or will it drown the market?

The coupons offered on all of these issues are aggressive. In most cases, U.S. government paper that can be bought today offer higher yields than these new issues—meaning that these Eurobonds are attractive only if it is assumed that interest rates drop substantially.

The most aggressively priced issue was Gulf Oil's \$100-million, 12-year bond. A number of banks bid for the deal and Merrill Lynch won.

Bearing a coupon of 10% percent and priced at 99% the bonds yield 10.33 percent — a notch below what 10-year U.S. Treasury paper is selling for. The payment date is Dec. 1, which eliminates any of the speculative appeal inherent in most of the other issues.

Bankers also wonder who will join Merrill in co-managing the deal. Officials at two of the four other investment banks who had bid for the "brownia" prints for leading hidden third bids and does not award "hrownie" points for losing bidders joining the winner in helping to market the issue. This raises the question of who besides Merrill has an interest in trying to sell an issue priced well below the current market.

One of the more surprising developments last week was the roaring success of the convertible issue for Northern Telecom, the Canadian-based manufacturer of telecommunications equipment. Given the boom

in stock prices in recent weeks, and the fact that Northern Telecom is now trading at \$63 — within a shade of the record high set earlier this week — logic might have suggested that no one would be interested in buying bonds convertible into stock at a price that is expected to be set at 18 percent (raised from the initially indicated 15 percent) over its

Logical or not, the \$50 million of 15-year bonds, priced at par, were changing hands on a when issued basis of 101%. The structure of the deal helped. Investors collect a 7-percent coupon semi-annually, but more important, if they are unhappy and the stock does not perform as hoped, holders can redeem the bonds at a premium price of \$1200 for every \$1000 face-valued certificate at the end of the fifth year.

By exercising this put option, an investor would have earned the equivalent of 10.43 percent a year.

With fads what they are in this market, with Northern Telecom so successful and with share prices at record levels, treasurers are expected to jump at the chance to sell new stock at a guaranteed 18-percent premium over current levels and bankers forecast an impending flood of

In the Deutsche mark sector, bankers set a calendar to run through the end of the year totaling 2.96 billion DM — an amount that many complain is too big for the market to absorb given the current demand for the mark as an investment currency.

That, of course, could change as all economists — American as well as European — agree that the dollar is overvalued. On the other hand, economists have been saying that for quite some time and the dollar has

continued rising.

The first of the new offerings was a 150-million-DM issue for the Asian Development Bank, priced at 99 and bearing a coupon of 8% percent. The 10-year bonds were quoted at 97% for a yield of 8.63 per-

Dealers complained bitterly about lead manager Deutsche Bank's pricing of the issue in relation to the recent issues for other supranational bodies such as the European Investment Bank and the Council of Euope rather than the outstanding ADB issues in the secondary market. These yield 9 percent. Deutsche Bank maintains those yields are not representative, that the premiums paid for high coupon bonds like the ADB's 94s or 10s are limited from rising by investor resistance to paying

Bore for a bond than its face value. Dealers were also groaming that the 7% percent coupon on Bayer's 150-million DM private placement was also too low.

Set for this week are issues for Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, Aeroport

le Paris, United Technologies and Sumitomo.

International Herald Tribune

HONG KONG — EDA Invest-nents has cancelled its interim divdend of 2.5 Hong Kong cents per hare announced last month and rading in its shares and warrants vill continue to be suspended, the

tinues as an independent company have been confirmed by a substantial majority of lenders. EDA and a number of banks appointed Schroders & Chartered to restruc-



Workers on factory floor at Goodyear Tire & Rubber's plant in Ultenhage, South Africa.

U.S. Firms in S. Africa Grow

As Reagan Seeks Better Ties, Investment Quietly Jumps

New York Times Service
JOHANNESBURG — When
E.I. Du Pont de Nemours & Co.
opened a marketing office here in January, it did so with barely a

The company's decision to avoid publicizing its move is oot surprising, considering the strong anti-apartheid lobby in the United

But these days Du Pont is hardly alone among U.S. corporations and banks expanding operations in South Africa. The value of U.S. investments in this country rose 13.3 percent in 1981, to \$2.63 billion, according to the U.S. Commerce Department. Most of the increase consisted of higher retained earnings in subsidiaries, but about \$51

million was accounted for by infusions of money from abroad.

"The business had grown to the point where we felt we couldn't igoore it," said Ian Edwards, manager of the local Du Pont embedding ger of the local Du Pont subsidi-ary. Although he added that Du Pont decided it "could live with the political flak," the office was set up "in a fairly low-key way." There is little doubt, however, that the interest of U.S. companies

in South Africa would have been more muted were it oot for Washington's current policy of "constructive engagement" toward this country. "Things certainly have improved under the Reagan Administration," said Clark Else, diof Commerce in South Africa. Some 250 U.S. companies with subsidiaries and affiliates in South Africa account for about one-fifth of total foreign investment there. The companies are heavily repre-

sented in such industries as motors, pharmaceuticals, oil, chemicals, mining and construction U.S. banks were among the main targets of the divestment effort that began in the United States in the late 1970s. At the time, many banks issued state-

ments saying they would not lend to the South African government in the future, and almost all were extremely discreet in their dealings with South Africa. Kidder, Peabody International, an investment banking concern, closed its Johannesburg office when the campaign against U.S. banks was at its height five years ago. But like Morgan Stanley and Blyth Eastman Paine Webber, it has allowed its name to be pub-

burg municipality.

Several U.S. banks have even begun lending again to the South African government, albeit in a circuitous way. Nedbank, a South African-owned group, raised \$200 million earlier this year for the government, and a sizable amount of it came from U.S. banks that

recent bond issue by the Johannes-

were apparently nervous about lending directly to the South Afri-

Some high-ranking trade officials have visited South Africa in the past year, and U.S. diplomats have become ooticeably more active in promoting commercial links between the two countries. They have urged U.S. investors to give more publicity to community-based projects, such as schools for blacks, which some U.S. companies have aided.

Encouragement has taken more tangible forms as well. The Reagan White House has eased President Jimmy Carter's 1978 prohibition on the supply of U.S. equipment and technology to "sensitive" South African customers — the defeated force of the supply fense force, police, atomie energy and black administration authori-

Guarantees by the Export-Import Bank on the financing of U.S. exports to South Africa are expected to be resumed soon, following a lished as one of the backers of a five-and-a-half-year suspension. The guarantees depend on certifi-cation by the State Department that the South African customer applies nondiscriminatory labor

> tion. Pretoria stopped visits by U.S. diplomats to local companies (Continued on Page 17, Col 8)

ties. Military equipment is the only item still covered by the ban.

During the Carter administra-

Chrysler Strike Reveals **Divisions Within Union**

Los Angeles Times Service
TORONTO -- The strike Friday
by almost 10,000 workers at six Chrysler plants in Canada seemed certain to cause tension between the Canadian and U.S. branches of the United Auto Workers.

As well, the strike poses serious problems for Chrysler because the Canadian plants manufacture vans and large rear-wheel drive cars, which are considered Chrysler's most profitable vehicles.

On top of that, a plant in Ajax, near Toronto, makes the interior trim that is used in all Chrysler cars. When stocks of trim run out, Chrysler could be forced to close its plants in the United States. Chrysler Chairman Lee A. Iacocca has warned that a strike "will cripple the company and, perhaps, min it."

UAW President Douglas Fraser also is known to fear that a strike could seriously burt the financially troubled company. "It is safe to say that it is testing the bonds of international solidarity," an aide to Mr. Fraser said in Detroit.

Under a pact signed by the governments of Canada and the Unit-. ed States, the auto operations of the two countries are integrated.
As a result, a Chrysler spokesman
in Detroit said, the Canadian
strike would cause layoffs Monday
in the United States.

There was a stark difference in the way the leaders of the U.S. and Canadian branches of the UAW handled the results of their oegotiations with Chrysler. The U.S. workers, after failing to get a real increase in wages from Chrysler in negotiations several weeks ago, agreed to postpone talks on a new contract until January,

The Canadian autoworkers refused to wait. The union's union bargaioiog eouoeil called Chrysler's proposal insulting, and has has insisted that Chrysler, which reported a profit of \$266 million in the first nine months of the year, is making enough money now to increase the wages of the Canadian Chrysler workers by three Canadian dollars an hour so that they would earn the same as Ford and General Motors workers in Canada.

But Chrysler officials, insisting that the company is actually losing money on the manufacture and sale of cars alone, say that they can oot afford to do so.

Robert White, president of the

Canadian UAW, told reporters: "Chrysler Corporation is at the crossroads. They have paid the banks, they have paid suppliers, and they have to make up their minds to spend more money on workers.'

This was the first time that Chrysler has had to bargain sepa-rately with the Canadian branch of the UAW. In the past, one con-tract was ocgotiated with the inter-national union as a whole. But the Canadian UAW decided to bargain separately this time because the leaders believed that they had been forced in the past to go along with concessions made to Chrysler by the U.S. leaders of the union.

Mr. White also has pointed out that the Canadian Chrysler workers, because of the diminished value of the Canadian dollar, are actually earning less money than their U.S. counterparts at a time when the Canadian inflation rate

is twice the U.S. rate.

The wages of both U.S. and Canadian employees of Chrysler

were frozen in 1979 as part of an agreement that was a condition for loan guarantees authorized by the U.S. Congress. The Canadian autoworkers were obviously annoyed then that their wage levels were being set by U.S. government, and those feelings were exacerbated by the falling value of the Canadian

The average wage of a Chrysler assembly worker in both countries, for example, is \$9.07 an hour. But in Canada, that sum is the equiva-lent of less than \$7.50 in U.S. cur-

rency.
Meanwhile, the UAW said Saturday in Detroit that Mr. Fraser is suspending activities as a member of Chrysler's board. UAW officials said Fraser ooti-

fied Mr. Iacocca that he was leaving the board "until our current collective bargaining disputes in Canada and the U.S. are resolved

... to avoid confusing or jeopard-izing the principle of worker repre-sentation embodied in the board

Bonn Coalition Plans 4-Billion-DM Tax Cut

BONN — Chancellor Helmut Kohl's government will reduce taxes by up to four billion Deutsche marks (\$1,55 billion) annually beginning in 1984, Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg said Sunday. In a radio interview, Mr. Stoltenberg said the tax relief plans would be prepared by the new center-right government if it wins the general election scheduled for March.

"These will total up to four billioo marks annually by today's es-timates," he said. But be did oot specify what form the tax coocessions would take.

To replace losses in income from the tax reductions, the government would impose a 1-percent increase in sales taxes, to 14 percent. This measure is included in oext year's 253.8-billion-DM budget. That budget provides for 5.65 billion DM in increased revenue and spending cuts:

Mr. Stolkenberg also said the cabinet was planning to require persons earning high incomes to make loans to the government.

This, he said, would be used to relieve the tax burden of small busioesses and to boost investment.

Ecocomie analysts have welcomed government plans to improve conditions for investment, consolidate budget finances, and curb welfare benefits.

But they have criticized the increase in the sales tax and plans to stimulate the flagging building in-dustry with bridging loans to would-be bomeowners. Mr. Stoltenberg, however, said initial reac-tions in the construction sector showed an increase in private de-

The minister, who has based his budget planning so far oo a fore-cast of a real 1.5-percent increase in the growth rate, also expressed optimism that 1983 would bring first signs of an economic revival. But analysts say there will be oo real economic growth oext year.

Mr. Stoltenberg said a further dramatic increase in unemployment could force the government

Paris to Start Drawing On Its \$4-Billion Loan

By Carl Gewirtz

nal Herald Tribune PARIS - Banks received notice last week that France will begin-drawing on its recently signed \$4 billion Eurocredit oo Monday. Contrary to expectations, only \$600 million will be drawn initial-

ly. France, from the outset, an-

nounced that oo less than onethird of the loan would be used. SYNDICATED LOANS

Under the loan agreement, it has six months to do this. The stated purpose of the loan is to defend the franc on the foreign exchange market. While the franc is currently valued at a record 7.26 against the dollar, all other European currencies have weakened against the dollar as well. As a result, the frame has been stable against the other major currencies forming the European Monetary System and France is under no

pressure to use the loan. In Italy, the state telecommuni-cacons agency SIP-STET is in the market for \$50 million. Pricing on this seven-year loan is exclusively over the London interbank rate a half-point over Libor for the first four years and % point over for

the final three years. The terms are sweetened with a front-end fee totaling % percent.

However, lenders are not being offered the option of pricing over the prime rate of U.S. banks. This will be reserved for an upcoming transaction for Ferrovie dello Stato. The state railway's \$200 million will run for six years and carry a margin of % point over the prime rate. Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb will organize this operation much to the distress of commercial bank lenders who resent invest-ment banks marketing loans in which they take absolutely no

Stake. In Asia, borrowing rates are be-In competition with Indonesia and Malaysia, South Korea earlier this year was able to force down its loan costs to a split 1/4. 1/2 point over Liber. But with South Korea having to devote much more of its export income to financing its debt than either of those other two bor-rowers, its credit standing in a market that is increasingly credit

conscious has slipped.
As a result, Korean Development Bank will be tapping the (Continued on Page 17, Col. 1)

U.S. \$75,000,000



Finnish Export Credit Ltd

12%% Notes Due 1987

Credit Suisse First Boston Limited

Amro International Limited

Citicorp International Group Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb

Nomura International Limited

Morgan Stanley International

S. G. Warburg & Co. Ltd.

Banque Bruxelles Lambert S.A. Deutsche Bank Aktiengesellschaft

Merrill Lynch International & Co. Kansallis-Osake-Pankki

Postipankki . Union Bank of Finland Ltd.

Bank of Helsinki Ltd.

Algemeno Bank Nederland N.V.	Andelsbenk	es A/S Danebank	Arahold and S.	Bleichroeder, Inc.	Julius Baer Internation
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Bank Lenni le-Israel	Bank Mees & Hope N	V Bankha	ns Gebrider Bethmann	Banque F	rançaise du Commerce Extérier
Banque Générale de Laxembour	g S.A. Benep	ne Indonnez	Banque Internationale	à Laxembourg S.A.	Banque Louis-Dreyfi
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Berges Bank A/S Ber	Haer Benk Bertin	er Handels- und Frankfurt	ter Bank Bi	lyth Eastman Paine Webbe	B.S.L. Underwrite
Chase Manhattan Capital Marks	ets Group Chi	enical Bank International	CEBC	Clarides Bay	ok Commerzhan
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Delbritek & Co. Den Dani	ke Bank Den Danske	Provinsbank A/S De	n norske Creditbank	Deutsche Girozente	ale DG BANK
Drestner Bank D	revel Bernham Lumbert	Effectenbank-V	Varborg	Entomobiliare	European Banking Compan
L'Européenne de Banque	First Chicago	Pul	International Finance	Gene	osenschaftliche Zentralbauk A
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Nordic Bask PLC	Okobask Osasspankk	ien Keskuspankki Oy	Orien R	oyal Bank	Greenteste Österreichische Länderband
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Union Bank of Switzerland (Seco	rities)		thistor Kantonalbank		Vereins- and Weethook
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				Indiana	l Ambad

EDA Investments Cancels Dividend, Announces Trading Halt to Continue

protect the interests of the compaoy's lenders and ensure EDA con-

noperty company said Saturday.
In a statement issued by merhaot bankers Schroders & EDA said some creditors have asked for more time to obtain aphartered, EDA said proposals to proval for the plan.





International Bond Prices - Week of Nov. 4

Provided by White Weld Securities, London, Tel.: 623 1277; a Division of Financiere Credit Suisse - First Boston RECENT ISSUES STRAIGHT BONDS All Currencies Except DM

Samho International Company Limited US\$ 20,000,000 **Syndicated Multi-Purpose Facility**

Arranged by

Al Bahrain Arab African Bank (E.C.) "AL BAAB"

Provided by

Al Bahrain Arab African Bank (E.C.) "AL BAAB"

Arab African International Bank (Cairo)

Bank Bumiputra Malaysia Berhad Bank of Baroda Bank of Oman Ltd Union de Banques Arabes et Françaises

U.B.A.F. Bahrain Branch

Agent:

al bahrain arab african bank (e.c.) "AL BAAB"



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Leading Marketmakers in Eurobonds WestLB

Westdeutsche Landesbank

هكدا من لدُعيل

NEW EUROBOND ISSUES

4	Î.	<u> </u>		Borrower	Amount (millions)	Maturity	Coupon %	Price	Yield At Offer	Terms
				Bank of America Overseas Fin.	\$100	1990	10%	100	10%	First callable at 101 in 1988, 25% payable on subscription and balance in Sept. 1983.
•				Canadian Wheat Board	\$50	1990	111/4	991/2	11.35	First collable at 101 in 1987.
				Chuo Trust & Banking	• \$15	1987	3/16	100	-	Over Libor for first 4 years, then ¼ over Libor for last year. Redeemable at par at the end of the fourth year. Floating rate certificates of deposit.
				Coca Cola Int'l Finance	\$100	1988	10%	100	10%	25% payable on subscription and balance in June 1983. Non-callable.
				DuPont Overseas Capital	\$150	1995	111/4	100	1114	First collable at 100½ in 1990, Payable January 18, 1983, Increased from \$100 million.
•	- (Elf Aquitaine	\$150	1990	12	100	12	Non-cattable.
•	- 1		ĺ	Export Development Corp.	\$100	1988	103/4	100	103/4	Non-collable. Payable January 17, 1983.
				General Electric Credit Fin.	\$200	1990	10	991/2	10.10	First callable at 101½ in 1987, 14½% payable January 5, 1983 and balance in July 1983.
				General Foods Int'l Fin.	\$100	1995	101/2	99%	10.57	First collable at 100½ in 1992. Payable 'January 26, 1983.
				Gulf Oil	\$100	1994	1014	991/2	10.33	First callable at 100½ in 1992. Payable December 1.
				Japan Airlines	\$54	1997	11	100	11 .	Non-collable. Sinking fund to start in 1993 to produce 13.5-yr average life.
	•	. 1		Korea First Bank	\$20	1985	+, 14	100	_	Over Libor. In denominations of \$500,000. Floating rate certificates of deposit.
•	-			.Midland Int'l Fin. Services	\$150	1992	111/2	100	111/2	Non-collable.
				Northern Telecom Int'l	\$50	1997	. 7*	100	7 •	e: semi-annually. Convertible at an anticipated 18% premium. Redeemable at 120 in 1987 at holders' option.
			V	SNCF	\$75	1992	111/2	open		Price to be set Nov. 9. Sinking fund to start in 1986 to produce 7-yr. average life. First callable at 101½ in 1990. 20% payable on subscription and balance in February 1983.
•				UBS Finance	\$150	1987	10¾	100	1034	Increased from \$100 million.
				Warner Lambert Int'l Fin.	\$100	1990	10%	99	10.46	First collable at 1011/2 in 1987, Payable in February 1983.
•			}	World Bank	\$200	1990	10%	100	10%	Payable in January 1983.
1		3 .]	World Bank	\$100	1998	11%	100	11%	Payable in January 1983.
4	1		٠,	Asioir Development Bank	DM 150 -	1992	84.	. 99	8.40	
	· 1				DM:150	1989	17 326	100	1 1	Private plocartiers, Fisher Religion 1983 in 1985
7	211		- 4	Bistronce	DM 28	1992	7%	100		Private processors
_				Nederland Middenstandbk	DRLS 100	1987	9%	100	91/4	No. Phys 15, April 20 Diginal responsibility of the following decision of the community of
		, .			- C 40	200	2.	100	446	Non-cultiple. Purceipes toolities street in 1983. In product BASA's principal ordering the
•				New Zealand Forest Products	NZ\$12	1987	171/		17.563	Purchase fund to start in

France to Begin Drawing on \$4-Billion Loan

(Continued from Page 15) market for only \$300 million, down from the \$500 million it had initially indicated it would be seek-ing. The loan will be for eight years, down from the 10-year maturity South Korea had recently succeeded in obtaining.

On \$200 million of this loan, lenders will be paid half a point over Libor. On the remaining \$100 million, interest will be set at 20 basis points (100 equals one percentage point) over the prime rate. If the prime rate exceeds the rate for 90-day certificates of deposit by 125 basis points, the CD rate becomes the base.

In Malaysia, Esso Production Malaysia is acranging a \$400-mil-10-year project loan with banks having close ties to Esso. Because repayment will be related to revenues from Esso's share of production from four offshore production platforms being financed by the money, interest will be set at a split 12- 14- 44-point over Li-

million for five years among a restricted syndicate of relationship banks, Interest is understood to be at % point over Libor. From North America, United Il-

Australia's CRA is raising \$150

luminating Co. is seeking \$50 mil-lion, offering a margin of % point over Libor for the first five years and % point over Libor for the final two years. The Connecticutbased electric utility is paying a commitment fee of % percent and a front-end fee of 4 percent.

Brazil Raised Deficit Funds Brazil raised a significant amount of money to finance its 1982 balance of payments deficit when the central bank president. Carlos Langoni, visited New York late in October, Reuters quoted a bank spokesman as saying last week in Brasilia.

"This money was the anticipation of funds already contracted and which would have been disbursed towards the end of the year or at the start of 1983," the spokesman said Wednesday.

Mr. Langoni, meanwhile, said he intends to raise more funds when he visits Europe this week. He plans to spend Monday and Tuesday in London, Wednesday in Frankfurt, Thursday in Zurich and Friday in Paris.

Brazil was negotiating the anticipation of disbursements with its

Fed Sees Decline In Debt of Poor

NEW YORK — The current account deficit of the less developed countries should shrink to \$60 billion in 1983, from an estimated \$75 billion in 1982, the Federal Reserve Bank in New York said in its autumn review.

It said the projections as-sume that bank lending to these countries will grow by \$25 bil-lion to \$35 billion in 1982 and 1983. down between 15 and 40 percent from the average growth rates of the preceding three years.

Bank lending at the midpoint of this range, along with some increase in official lending and a greater drawdown of assets by developing countries, would finance the deficits, it said.

major creditor banks, Mr. Langoni said. He said that during his trip to Europe this week, the money needed to fund Brazil's balance of pay-ments deficit for this year should be guaranteed. Private economists have estimated that Brazil needed to borrow \$4 billion to \$4.5 billion from October to December to

finance the deficit. ■ Venezuela Syndication Begins Orion Royal Bank has begu syndicating a \$560 million med um-term credit for Inavi, the se ond public agency to seek ref nancing under terms proposed b Venezuela's finance minister. Lui Ugueto last month, Reuters quo ed banking sources as saying

Thursday in Caracas. A \$160-million, 30-day bridging credit was taken up by all bank participating in the original one year credit, which fell due or Wednesday. The bridging credit had a 1-percent margin over Libor Syndication is continuing on 525-million, two-tiered, five-yea credit for the urban developmes agency. Fondur, which went to market in late October. The bank ing sources estimated that commi ments for around 70 percent of the credit have been received so far There have been some withdrawal by Japanese banks, but a major U.S. bank that had not taken part in the original Fondur credits has added \$30 million in new money. ■ Study of Cubs Concluded

Government banking experts from France, Sweden, Italy, Spain and Japan have finished a study of Cuba's economy and will present Paris of representatives of 16 of Cuba's creditor countries, Reuters quoted a top West European dip-

lomat as saying Thursday in Ha-

In September, Cuba's national bank asked creditors for a threeyear moratorium on repayment of \$1.3 billion in debts that fall due between this year and 1985. The Cubans asked for 10 years following the moratorium to pay off the debt in full.

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	1, Q. 1211	CHIS WI CHIS WOR CENEVA 1, 31 0251 - T	t-Blanc Switzerlan	

Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc.

has acquired through merger

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The undersigned assisted in the negotiations and acted as financial advisor to Anhenser-Busch Companies, Inc. in this transaction.

Dillon, Read & Co. Inc.

November 3, 1982

Expectation of Rate Fall Continues

By Michael Quint New York Times Service NEW YORK - Although many economists were expecting a modest decline in the level of the U.S. money supply, a \$2.7-billion increase in the M-1 measure of the basic money supply was not enough of a shock to credit market participants to significantly change the widespread expectation that in-terest rates will fall in coming

"It's incomprehensible that there is any underlying strength in M-1, given the declines in business

U.S. CREDIT MARKETS

loan demands and the sluggish economy," said Elliott Platt, an economist at the Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette Securities Corp. The economic recovery is still a forecast, not a fact."

In the credit markets, prices fell and yields rose slightly for Treas-ury securities after the Fed's an-

mouncement late Friday.

Most of the price decline was a reversal of gains that had occurred minutes before the money supply announcement for the week ended Oct 27, as traders speculated that the Fed was also about to announce a reduction in the discount rate. The current discount rate, which the Fed charges on loans to financial institutions, was lowered to 9½ percent on Oct. 8 and since then speculation about another reduction has been widespread.

Expectations that the next major of a percentage point, with three-and six-month issues bid at rates of a six-month issues bid a

change in short-term interest rates of 7.81 percent and 8.34 percent, will be down, not up, were reinrespectively.
In the note market, the newly auctioned 9½ percent issue due in 1985 was offered at 99 19-32 to forced, analysts said, by data showing that the Fed is continuing to be tolerant of the rapid money supply growth in recent weeks, al-though loan demand at commeryield 9.91 percent, down '4 point from its high. The 10½ percent notes due in 1992 were offered late cial banks is falling with the weak

The Fed has provided the bank-ing system with such an ample supply of reserves, funds that banks are required to bold on deposit with the Fed, that in the latest week the banking system actu-ally had \$522 million more in reserves than were required for their given level of deposits, while borrowings from the Fed averaged only \$190 million.

Declining demand for shortterm credit from businesses also reinforced the expectations of many traders that interest rates will decline. The latest Fed data show that, in the week ended Oct. 27. loans to businesses by large commercial banks across the country fell by \$943 million while businesses reduced their borrowings in the commercial paper market by an additional \$1.76 billion.

In the market for Treasury secu-

S. Africa Gets New Backing

(Continued from Page 15)

to verify replies to questionnaires But the visits were resumed this year, and the first report, on a small, high-technology company, has been submitted to Washing-

The increase in investment in South Africa is largely the result of hicrative business opportunities. The South African economy grew by 8 percent in 1980 and by 4.5 percent last year. It is heading into recession, but some sectors are still growing rapidly.

The state-controlled Electricity Supply Commission is building six 3,600-megawatt power stations and is one of the largest buyers of power generating equipment in the

Expansions in the paper and only industry have attracted U.S. ousinesses.

Nonetheless, some companies still balk at the political cost of large investments The prospect of growing racial violence in South Africa and its economic downturn are likely to make U.S. businessmen cautions about committing money to the country. Echoing the views of others, Mr. Edwards said, "The major

detraction is the political risk."

This announcement appears as a matter of record only

Friday at 99 30-32 to yield 10.51

percent, down from 100% earlier

In advance of Tuesday's sale of

\$3 billion of new 30-year bonds, dealers offered the bonds on a when-issued basis to yield 10.34 percent, a slightly higher yield than the 10.28 percent that pre-

vailed before the Fed began an-nouncing the new banking and

that afternoon.

money supply data.

"All Sovers" Cartificates

6-Month Savings Certificate

U.S. Consumer Rates For Wook Ended Nov. 5



Caisse nationale des autoroutes

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'Guaranteed by the Republic of France

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NEW ISSUE

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U.S. \$75,000,000

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Unconditionally guaranteed as to payment of principal, premium, if any, and interest by



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Amro Interestional	Bach	e Halsey Stuart Shiel	ids .	Tulius Boer Internation	al	Benca Commerciale Italiana
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Bank Leuni le-Israel	Group Ba	ak Mees & Hope N	,	Bank of Tokyo Intern	mtional	Bankers Trust International
Banque Arabe et Inter	nationale d'Investig	sement (B.A.L.L.)	Banque Brukei	les Lambert S.A.	Banque F	rançaise du Commerce Extérieur
Banque Générale do L	exembourg S.A.	Banque II	iterrationale à Luxe	mbourg S.A.	Banque Po	pulaire Suisse S.A. Luxembourg
Banque Privés de Cest	ios Financière	Banque Worms	Baring I	rothers & Co.,	Bayerische	Hypotheken- und Wechsel-Bank Aktionsenlishete
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Berliner Handels- und	Frankferter Bank		Lustman Paine Webb	er B.S.	l. Underwriters	Cazenove & Co.
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DG BANK	Drexel Burnher		Effectenbank-Warbur Aktionssilielen	Euromo	biliare	European Banking Company
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Kowait Foreign Tradio	g Contracting & lin	restment Co. (S.A.K.)	Kawait Intersal	tional Investment Co. s.	a.k. Kuwai	lavestment Company (S.A.K.)
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Lombard Odier Interna	tional S.A.	Manufacturers F	lanover 1	vierrill Lynch Internati	onal & Co,	Samuel Montagn & Co.
Margan Greafell & Co	. Merg	an Guaranty Ltd	Morgan Star	iley international	The Nik	ko Securities Co., (Europe) Ltd.
Nomes International	Nordic B	enk PLC 0	rion Royal Bank	Österreichische	Länderbank	Pictet International Ltd.
Pierson, Heldring & Pi	erson N.V.	Salomon Brothers I	nternational	Scandinavian Bank	. Schröd	er, Münchmeyer, Hengst & Co.

International Bond Prices - Week of Nov. 4

Northern Trust Corporation announces the opening of Northern Trust Bank of Florida.

A distinguished financial services institution designed to meet today's international banking needs.

Northern Trust Corporation has announced the opening of Northern Trust Bank of Florida in Miami, a new corporate affiliate of The Northern Trust Company of Chicago.

This is the second Northern Trust bank to be opened in Florida. Earlier this year the Northern Trust Bank of Florida/Sarasota was established. And in early 1983, Northern Trust banks will become operational in Naples and Palm Beach.

In forming Northern Trust Bank of Florida, we have merged the international expertise of Northern Trust Interamerican Bank, a Miami Edge Act bank, and the distinctive, personalized service of Security Trust Company in Miami, long recognized for pre-eminence in trust and asset management services. The result is a financial services institution with expertise in personal, commercial, trust, and international banking services.

We invite you to contact us, at your earliest convenience, to get acquainted with Northern Trust Bank of Florida and to learn—first-hand—how our uncompromising tradition of quality can benefit you.

For more information on how we can be of service to you, contact Northern Trust Bank of Florida, 700 Brickell Avenue, Miami, Florida 33131. Or in London contact Jeffrey F. Ruzicka, The Northern Trust Company London Branch, 38 Lombard Street.

The more you want your bank to do, the more you need the Northern.

Northern Trust Bank of Florida

A wholly owned subsidiary of Northern Trust Corporation, Chicago. Member F.D.I.C.

de 19	Statell Den Norske	6 1/2 17 Mor 10 1/2 \$3/4 13 Dec 97 1/2		\$150	States Book Corp 61/4% 1979 Dec		1509 80	0.1M	47.71	43
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00 B	City C1 Jahannesburg			-	Alda Engineering 61/4% 1994 Mar	-	30 Mor %	yen 591.80 - 707 3.44 yen 594.30 - 666 yen 573 -	8.75	244
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35 im	Econo.	8 % Mor %		1	Alinamata Ca Inc 57/4% 1996 Mar	84	15 Mar 94	1141 2/2 yen 457 50 - 544 2/3	14.76	1.21
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qu. 100	iarae			2.30	43/4% West Dec	150	Markey	1434	3.78-	1,05
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	ci inti.Fin.	41/2 72 Mor 99 7.	77 734 A4 737 494 A4 734 499 S7 838 457	1.00	53/4 % 1996 Mor	125	19 Mor 99	272/1	7.4	,82
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nn 150 A	Midlend Inti Fin Nati Westminster Bend	\$1/2 40 Oct 101 1/2 E	36 934 7.45 22 137 41 7.32 7.79 40 10.06	599	51/2% 1997 Feb	100 1/2 :	20 Feb 98	772 2/3	,44	.92
m 180 P	Vott.Westminster Bank Voti Westminster Fin Voti Westminster Fin	77 Oct 100 1/2 0		\$50	6 % 1992 Aug	7/	JI A00 72 1	771 1/3	1.20.	
300 E	Date I Hall I and	77/4 '98 6-0 9/1/2 #	59 944 747		53/4 % 1993 And Jacco Ca Ltd	76	MANU 91	yen 976,50 1286 2/3	246	1,14
m 125 S	Standard Chartered Blk Tratalgar House Fig.	\$1/2 W Jon 911/2 8.	N 127 451	\$25.	71/2% 1995 Mar	10 :	Nov 80	444 ~	254	
m 78	South Scotland Elec- standard Chartered Big Trutalgor House Firs. JINTE D STATES AMER Ungricon Express Ipt Sook Of America Jonetical Cours Fis.	SIG 17 In 1014 7		525	7 1/2 % 1995 Mar Jaccs Co Lld 5 1/2 % 1996 Mar	48	Oct 61	Yen SHLSD-	ia.n	
m 150 B	Sook Di Asterico Jeneficiol Overs FM Block & Decker FM Inryster Overseus II-Honcywell Bull	10CA 5 1/2 17 Jun 10 1/4 7. 5 2/4 10 Mery 10 1 9 9 1/2 10 Mery 10 1 9 9 1/2 10 Mery 10 1 9 1 2 17 Sep 1/3 1/2 10 1 3/4 10 Aug 19 2/4 9. 9 2/4 17 Jul 104 1/2 1. 1 1/4 17 Och 100 1/4 7.	49 550 59 457 29 9,41	8.00	A St. 1907 Each	44	Jul 77 1	PR 996.76-	434	
m 100 B	Hock & Decker File	9 1/2 17 Sep 103 1/2 8	A 1128 7.33	5 100	JVC Victor Comp Jobos	251/2	0 Mar 97	1935 1/4		,51
125	31-Honeywell Butt	13/4 70 Aug 993/4 9, 93/4 75 Jul 164 1/2 8, 91/4 75 Oct 100 1/4 7,	52 1.93	3.20	6 % 1992 Sud	114	Sep 10	yen 433,50~	3.64-	
100 C	Embari Overseas Cop Embar Overseas Fist Irm World Zoorle	P1/4 17 Oct 100 1/4 7/	47 . E.O.	8 700	Kateapaki Steet Corp 53/4 % 1996 Mar	00 1/2 2	5 Mar % 2	en 227 - ME5/1 .	30.07	
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면많음	Occidental Overseas Philip Morris Inti	4 1/2 17 Oct 1971/2 7/ 9 1/2 19 Feb 1803/4 7	7,07 4.53	\$25	Katobskiya 7 % 1914 Feb	%	April 1	ven 617 –	an :	
m 100 P	tillio Morris Inti	91/2 19 Feb 1803/4 7. 81/4 10 May 1063/4 7/ 71/2 18 Jul 181/2 7/	7.73 E 107 7.61	\$75	7 % 1996 Feb Kubolo Ltd 62/4 % 1991 Apr	104	P Feb 74	701 617 - 101 1/2 701 1/4 701 1/4 701 734 70-	426	
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				\$ 100	6 % 1996 Jun Matsushita El Works 71/2% 1995 Nev	2	10 Nov 95	YES 377		1.54
	AND LEAST AND LANGE	mrn mar	700	8 100	Matsushita Electric	305	20 Ngv 75 1	Pen 447,50-		75
E	JUNYEKT)	BLE BON	DS	\$80	Minotta Comera Co 71/4 % 1995 Mar	M10	Nov 89	yen 438,30 ~	1.59-	
		die Conv. Conv.Pr		14	Misotta Camero Ca 5 % 1996 Mar Misubishi Cors	44	Octal	ren 834,40 ren 305,90	40,73	
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	COMARI	.I.U		DUN	DO		280	Minotta Comero Co	A	4 Nov 80	yen 435,30 -	٠	
					- -		140	71/4 % 1995 Mar Micolty Camero Ca	06 1/2	20 Mar D	334 578 Ven 834.40	137	- 14
						Curr.		5 % 1996 Mar	66	80 Mar %			147
_		Midd	le Conv.	Conv.Pr	Conv	. Ylds	\$ 500	Mibubbhi Core			ven 305.50-	444	
Amt	Security	Prilo	e Period	p/Sh	Prem		,	43/4% 1991 Mgr	231	moturity		470	1.44
							0.00	Altsubishi Corp	٠.	1 Aug 77	Ver 428.30-		
	BURGPE							6 % 1992 Mor	104	moturity		440	144
125	Apo Ab		1 Oct 79	sts 127 -			\$40	Mitsubishi Corp			Yen 478.58		
	73/4 % 1989 Mor	96	5 Mar 02		7 1.16	3.78		6 1/2 % 19M Sep	104	maturity			1.00
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	91/2% 1994 3ep	104	15 Jun 99	skr 235 3/	5 21	10,1		53/4% 1996 Mar	83	20 Mar 9	414 1/4 .	13.0	1.00
						3.71	B 20	Autaubiant Gos Chem			Yen 217.20-		
\$70	Akau 28.32		1.5mp 69					6 % 1772 Sep	84	29 Sep %	219 3/5	.4 0-	- 3.16
	43/4 % 1987 Jan	61		M 77 4/1	177.13	7.04	5 29	Milital Real Estate		10ct77	Yen 473.40 -		
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• ED	Aluguisse Intern	ш	1.5ep 69	9303VY	/1.20	743	B 25	Alityul Real Estate		15 Jun 61	yen 535 -		
8 <i>4</i> 9	43/4 % 1987 Mar	80		\$12751/2	114,82		-	71/4% 19% Mor	99	80 Mor %	770	10.49	1.30
1.00	Amro Sonk \$2.38	-		hft 42.50-	11402			Murata Manufecturing		29 Jul 87	yen 1772.28-		
•••	51/2% 1989 Jose	128		MI 22.3/5	185	11.52		51/4 % 1994 Mar	72 1/2	19 Mor 96	2141	1147	.72
1.00	Baback Nederland	-	17 Apr 74	n 125 -			230	Milgata Engineering	-	12 YOUR!	Yen 337 -		
	7 % 1992 Oct	87	15 Sep 99	D 129	400	5.98	580	7 1/2 % 1994 Mor Nippon Electric	62	80 Mar 94	4177/2	17.74	273
	Boocham Fig 234.14	_		p 171.74-				5 1.76 % 1997 Magr	100 1 /	25 Mor 97	yen 304.20~		л
	63/6% 1992 Sep	125	15 AUG 94	p 177 1/2	543-	1.53	5100	Nippon Kokon	102 174	1 Jul 61	Yen 188 -	1221	33
530	Boots Co Life		1 Feb 77	p 214 -				41/2 % 1996 Mar	80 1/7	BO Mar 94		29.10	410
	63/4% 1993 AUG	110	1 Jul 92	P 341 3/4	5.03-	7.85	500	Nippon Selico			Yest 337 -	75.14	-
599	Brown Boveri Bbc 5.24		1 Jet 15					71/4% 1994 Oct	99 1/2	14 Oct 99		3.70-	
	41/4 % 1993 Dec	61		52003/8	52,67	8.85	500	Nissho Iwal Corp		17 Oct 80	yen 398 -	~-	-
570	Burmah Oll 192.99	-	1 Apr 80					8 % 1996 Mor	60	22 Mar 11	485.3/2	14.54	2.25
	57/2% 1988 Oct	132	maturity	15 V3	4.76	431	515	Nitto Electric ind					_
599	Cibo-Getay Overs 8.02	15	1 Sep 15		774	241		6 % 1992 Sep	707	25 Sup 99	765 1/2	276-	1.01
5 100	Credit Sulaw Ltd	15	Anglur By	363	/		529	Nitto Piectric and		1 Jul 15	Yen 735 -		
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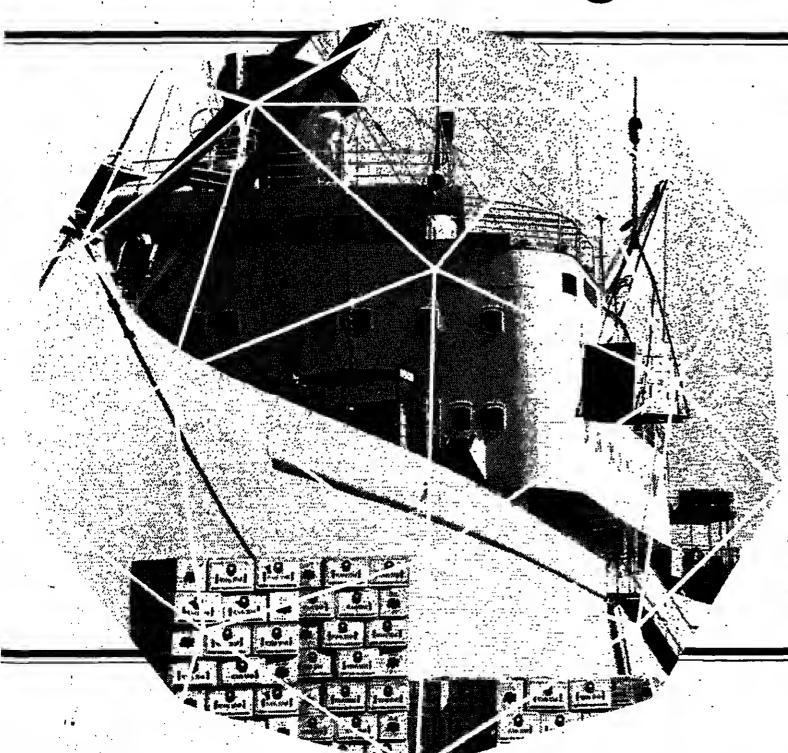
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All of these bonds having been sold, this announcement appears as a matter of record only

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Fonds de Réétablissement du Conseil de l'Europe pour les Réfugiés Nationaux et les Excédents de Population en Europe Strasbourg/Paris

DM 125,000,000 8¼ % Bearer Bonds of 1982 (88-92)

Berliner Handels- und Frankfurter Bank

Allgemeine Elsässische Bankgesellschaft

Bayerische Landesbank Cirozentrale Bankhaus Gebrüder Bethmann

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Deutsche Girozentrale – Deutsche Kommunalbank – Hessische Landesbank - Girozentrale -Merck, Finck & Co.

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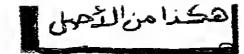
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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1982

Swarthmore in Danger of Winning Conference

By Ralph Bernstein
The Associated Press

SWARTHMORE, Pennsylvania - Having a team bidding for a football title would be a matter of great pride on most U.S. college campuses, but some folks at Swarthmore College would just as

soon forget it.
Swarthmore, in the NCAA's Division III, has won eight straight games and 14 of its last 15. It 12-10 victory over Western Maryland on Saturday gave it at least a share of the Mid-Atlantic Conference Southern Division title. With a 7-0 divisional record, Swarthmore will play Widener for the title next

Still, controversy swirls around Coach Jim Lapinski's team. Team members have refused to wear the college insignia on their helmets. "I told them, it's your pre-rogative," Lapinski said. "You want to do it, it's fine with me." The squad is angry over what it considers an unnecessary review at the school of the football program

The crux of it is that Lapinski must deal with a certain segment of the college population that finds a winning football team disgrace-

According to one college spokes-man the vocal minority helieves that the football team's success spoils the Swarthmore image as one of the country's leading academic institutions. But Dave Smoyer, athletic direc-

tor, and Lapinski both are inclined to overlook that viewpoint. "It's part of the campus, not the whole," Smoyer said. "Football is ooe of the important things on this

campus. It's just that no one single activity can dominate here. There are too many conflicting activities fighting for people's time."

Both Smoyer and Lapinski point out that football players must score 1.100 and 1,200 on college boards — about 200 points higher than the average. than the average.

There are oo athletic scholar-ships at Swarthmore. There is some financial aid, but it goes to studeots of all departments. Swarthmore has only 39 players on its squad. They constantly switch positions to fill voids caused by in-

One player this season played name because he did oot want his parents to know he was playing football. Kevin Lagasse played under the name of Rockwell Thisby. "I had the role of Thisby in our

Shakespeare class when we were studying 'A Midsummer Night's Dream.' I just borrowed his name." He made up 'Rockwell.'

Lapinski has a linebacker who is

an accomplished pianist. He wears an accomplished pianist. He wears extra beavy padding in practice to avoid bruising his hands. Swarthmore this season has beaten Moravian, Lebanon Valley, Johns Hopkins, Dickinson, Gettysburg, Upsala, Ursinus and West-ern Maryland; Widener remains.

All are NCAA Division III

"On paper," says Lapinski, "we don't over-personnel anyone. These are kids of great emotion with a desire to win and excel." Swarthmore has scored 150 points and allowed only 44 in its eight games. It has allowed two of-

fensive touchdowns in the last 39 Lapinski likes to tell one story

"We went to play Gettysburg last year with 34 kids. Two of them were kickers. They had a squad of 96. We had seven injuries io the game. One kid passed out after the

It wasn't always that way. Swarthmore lost 34 straight games between 1971 and Nov. 1, 1975. But everybody on campus loved the team. Swarthmore was known back then strictly for its academic

U.S. College Football Standings

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U.S. College Football Scores

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E. Texos St., 25, Texos A&I 22
New Mexico St., 20, N, 7 exos \$1, 19
SMU41, Rice 14
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Bowdon 30, Bales 14
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Adolte 21, New Hownpohirs 14
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Texas Tech 14, TCU 14
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CFL Standings Chodel 24, W. Carolina 20 Clemson 14, N. Corolina 13 Dolta A., Wake Forest 24 Fioristo 51, 54, 3. Carolina 25 Formon 17, James Andison 11 Georgia 44, Fioristo 0 Georgia Tech 38, Virginia 32 Gramblina 51, 34, Alaboma 51, Louisvilla 35, Indiana 51, 23 Marzholl 22, VAM 20 Mary Lond 18, Mismit 17 Mary land 18. Milami 17 Alississippi 45. T glone 14 Tunnessee 27. Memphis St. 3

More Sports On Page 23

April Run, winning the 31st Washington, D.C., International.

Filly April Run Easy Victor Over 9 in D.C. International

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
LAUREL Maryland — April Run, a fully representing France, defeated Majesty's Prince by 61/2 lengths Saturday in the 31st running of the Washington, D.C. In-ternational at Laurel Race Course.

Owned by Mrs. Bert Firestone and ridden by Cash Asmussen, April Run, a 3-5 favorite in the field of 10, completed the 1½-mile turn event in 2:31. Thunder Puddles finished third, 4% lengths behind Majesty's Prince. The second and third finishers were U.S. representatives.

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both representing England, were fourth and fifth, respectively. The rest of the field, in order of finish: Royal Roberto, Sprink and Pair of Deuces, all of the United States, Friendswood from Italy and Humbug from Sweden. In last year's International,

April Run was second to Providential II by a length after her jockey Philippe Paquet, lost his whip with about an eighth of a mile to run. The 4-year-old Irish-bred, who

thind Majesty's Prince. The second and third finishers were U.S. representatives. Diamond Shoal and Awaasif, ESCORTS & GUIDES The second recently won the Turf Classic at Aqueduct by 6½ lengths, is a Strong contender for 1982 turf filly or mare in North America. The second recently won the Turf Classic at Indiano 24, Wisconsin 17 Konses 24, Iowe 51, 17 Michaen 18, Illinois 10 Michaen 18, Colorado 18 Michaen 18, Colorado 18, Colorad	H.IN
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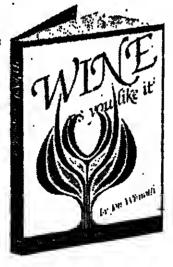
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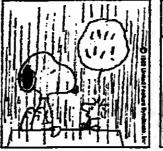
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International Herald Tribune































WE'RE RIGHT. IN THE

MIDDLE OF OUR ANNUAL

CHARITY DRIVE

I DIDN'T ATTEMPT TO SEDATE HER!

I DON'T KNOW

WHETHER IT'S AN

ACUTE PSYCHOSIS









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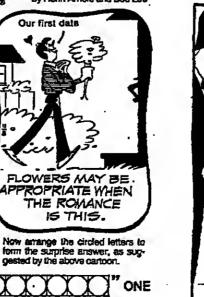
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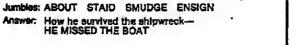
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TIMES THAT SCRAMBLED WORD GAME by Henri Arnold and Bob I se by Henri Arnold and Bob Lee

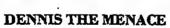




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How he survived the shipwreck— HE MISSED THE BOAT

IS THIS.





"S'FOSE I LOVE MY NEIGHBOR, BUT HE DON'T LOVE ME BACK?"

BOOKS

WHEN SISTERHOOD WAS IN FLOWER By Florence King. 190 pp. \$13.95.

The Viking Press, 625 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022.

Reviewed by Mary Cantwell

A MEMORY: Students at a wom-en's college in the 1950s are watching an old silent, "The Thief of Baghdad." Suddenly, Douglas Fair-banks appears in tights, the likes of which should have been X-rated. The audience crupts in cheers, but nothing is actually said about Fairbanks's formidable masculinity. The pre-liberation female may have thought raunchy, but she didn't talk it.

Among the womens movement's many gifts, however, is the conviction that it's now O.K. to verbalize so rancous a tribute to gender identity. In conversational circles, comparable. chat is called "getting down to get dirty"; in book circles, the phrasing is fancier. In the first days of the new raunch, circa 1970, female authors were apt to be compared to the Wife of Bath. One of the funniest of the Wives of Bath is Florence King, the author of such books as "He: An Irreauthor of such books as "rie: An irreverent Look at the American Male" and "WASP. Where is Thy Sting?". Like most of her peers, she uses herself as a punching bag, but unlike many of them, she always stands on the right side of the line that separates self-mockery from self-hatred Unforself-mockery from self-hatred. Unfor-tunately, however, she is not so clear about the distinction between high humor and low, very low, comedy. In common with a lot of comics, King seldom quits when she's ahead. In "When Sisterhood Was in Flow-

er," the bent toward overkill shows up early. As the novel opens, its heroine, Isabel Fairfax, a Southerner living in Boston in 1971, "gathering new experiences" and writing Regency romances, has just returned from posting her latest, "Beloved Rake," to the publisher. She turns on "Heated Topics." a feminist talk show so controversial that it begins with a viewerdiscretion warning and ends with a disclaimer. The day's subject is the birth bucket, "used for centuries before male physicians conspired to make us give birth in a prone position." A birth bucket (its proponents'

Solution to Friday's Puzzle

motto is "Get Back on the Can" surely enough, but King proceeds paint her dubious hiy with a crowdile-dung lining. "You have to p something soft in the bottom for t baby to land on." the head of the Birth Bucket League says. "Ancie Esyptian women used crocodile due. Egyptian women used crocodile dun it's not available here in Massach setts, but if you plan to give birth the Gulf Coast area, your husband, the father of your child can gather for you as mine did. It's a good way the company of the company to the company of the company

test his supportiveness." And so it goes, which is to say a ways a bit too far, throughout King tale of how isabel meets — courtes of a bomb - the "Heated Topics hostess, Polly Bradshaw, and is conscripted into a feminist commune it California. Never mind that feminis communes were done to a T by Usi Alther in "Kinflicks." King's cast is also diverting: a medievalist who steads dimes from Kotex machines: wife running from her survivalist hus-band. Polly of the "chowdery Boston secent" and peppery convictions and eventually, Isabel's Aunt Edna, who is

pregnant by an Episcopal minister.
But where "Kinflicks" was tightly constructed, "When Sisterhood Was in Flower" sprawls. Where Lies Alther's characters were, however lunatic, mostly credible, King's, after their introduction, are cartoons. Sill. loose plotting and stick figures are not necessarily fatal to a comic novel What is is its author's inability to discipline her own risibility.

Even so, King amuses, especially when she leaves the wilder shores of feminism, by now a subject deserving a very long rest, and puts Isabel to work at a publishing house called Sword & Scabbard. Isabel's brief primer on how to write pornography is a model treatise; one wishes the rest of "When Sisterhood Was in Flower was written with similar precision.

King's batty medievalist. Gloria, is a pleasure, too, as is Gloria's precenpation (often rendered in song) with the painful and unfortunate death of Edward IL So is the section detailing the survivalists's attack on a commune, although one does wonder what so conspicuously an '80s phenomenon is doing in a novel set in 1971. But a lot of King's targets are already tattered by a lot of other writers's arrows. Funny as it often is "When Saterhood Was in Flower is something of an anachronism.

Control that is what one wants for

Florence King - control, a style as cool as her eye and a subject as fresh as her mouth. She is sharp, no down about it. Too bad she tends to blant her points by pushing them too hard

Mary Cantwell is on the staff of The

BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

IF some highly radical government puts its multimillionaires in a tax bracket higher than 100 percent, they would suffer from what French call un embarras de richesse." Something similar can happen at the bridge: A

of high cards. An example is the diagramed deal. North's one no-tramp opening bid, showing 15 to 17 high-card points, was indignantly doubled by East, who had good reason to believe that he had the best hand at the table. As it happens, one no-trump doubled would have probably succeeded. Careful play by North would have given him seven tricks by end-playing

But South did not care to be dum-my in one no-trump doubled. He set out to find a suit, and eventually found the right one: two spades. East kept on doubling, sure that he had his

opponents over a barrel.

At first sight it appears that South will lose seven tricks — one in hearts and two in each of the other suits. But. East is marked with virtually all the missing strength, and can surely be end-played. Whether this costs him one trick or two is the question.

A diamond lead would have been best for the defense. South would have to duck, and when East wins he can play three rounds of spades safe-

But West chose a trump lead, after which the contract could not be de-feated. East made life easy for the de-

clarer by winning with the spade king and shifting to the club king. Some won in dummy and continued trums.

East won and continued chubs, and

South made eight tricks: The 13th
club in the closed hand took care of one of dummy's potential diamond

wealth. He could have defended be-ter by continuing trumps at the se-ond and third tricks, but he would not have defeated the contract. After wisning the third round of trumps South would have ducked a diamond to East, who would have no way out.

NORTH (D) 410843 **♣**A83 EAST ♦AKJ ♥K73 VJ 10542 41098 ₽XQ4 SOUTH ◆0962 ∇98-**4**J752

Pass Pass West led the spades

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SPORTS

Notre Dame's Fourth-Period Rally Upsets Top-Ranked Pitt

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
PITTSBURGH — Pitt, ranked o. I in both major football polls, is shocked by Notre Dame, 31here Saturday as quarterback air Kiel threw a 54-yard touchwn pass and Allen Pinkett sped off two scoring runs, one of em a 76-yarder, in the final quar-

Joe Howard caught Kiel's 54nd touchdown pass on a trick ay, and Pinkett's touchdown th 8:09 left broke open Notre ame's upset. Pinkett also ran 7 rds for a touchdown with 4:02

Pinkett said he was inspired by a e-game pep talk by head coach erry Faust, who read his team a t of seven stunning upsets by unrdog Irish teams over undefeatfootball powers.

That tradition, Faust told them, ent back to 1946 when the Irish ayed Army to a scoreless tie — Notre Dame.

eaking the military's 25-game
mning streak — and continued doff from Kiel, slipped a pair of

through Notre Dame's 13-11 upset of Alabama in the 1975 Orange Bowl. In between, Notre Dame gave the Irish n 24-16 lead. After gave the Irish n 24-16 lead. After save into fifth place on the allended a 31-game winning streak by Georgia Tech, a 47-game victory string by Oklahoma, and a 30-game streak by Texas.

With Pitt leading, 13-10, Kiel handed off on first down in ruo-

FOOTBALL ROUNDUP

ning back Phil Carter, who shoveled back to Kiel. The quarter-back found Howard, giving Notre Dame a 17-13 lead with 14:36 to

Pitt quickly closed to 17-16 on Eric Schubert's 47-yard field goal. With Pitt driving again, Julius Dawkins hauled in a 10-yard pass from Dan Marino at the Irish 33yard line, but Mike Larkin stripped the ball from his hands and John Mosley recovered for

Pitt was forced to puot, Notre Dame quickly drove for its third touchdown of the quarter, on

Piokett's 7-yard burst. Notre Dame improved its record to 6-1-1, while Pitt lost for the first

ime in eight games. Baylor 24, Arkansas 17

In Waco, Texas, tailback Alfred Anderson went four yards for a touchdown with 2:38 to play as Baylor shocked Arkansas, 24-17, in the Southwest Conference, Arkansas, which led 14-0 at halftime, lost for the time in eight games while Baylor's was only its third victory in nine games this year.

lo Birmingham, Alabama, LSU's quick defense kept Alabama without a first down in the first balf, and Dalton Hilliard's 16yard touchdown run triggered a 17-point second period as the

Louisiana St. 20, Alabama 10

Alabama and gave the Tigers a 7-0-1 record.

Washington 10, UCLA 7

In Seattle, Washingtoo's de-fense, led by linebacker Mark Stewart, proved too much for UCLA and the nation's leading passer, Tom Ramsey, as the Huskies edged the Bruins, 10-7, in a crucial Pacific-10 Conference game. The victory kept Washing-ton's hopes alive of going to the Rose Bowl for a third consecutive season, while the loss seriously dented the Bruins' chances. Washington will play at Arizona State Saturday night in the game that figures to decide the Pac-10 Rose

Bowl representative. Georgia 44, Florida 0

In Jacksonville, Florida, Her-schel Walker ran for three touchdowns and 219 yards, smashing the NCAA record for yardage in three seasons as Georgia crushed Florida, 44-0. Walker, who scored his third TD with 4:48 left in the as Oklahoma 24, Kansas St. 10

In Nurman, Oklahoma, Marcus Dupree broke off an 80-yard touchdown run and scored again as Oklahoma crimped Kansas Oklahoma 24, Kansas St. 10 third quarter and sat out the re-

to move into fifth place on the alltime rushing list, 38 yards behind the No. 4 man, George Rogers of South Carolina.

هكذا من المرحل

SMU 41, Rice 14

In Houston, Craig James ran for one touchdown and passed 62 yards for another as Southern Methodist beat Rice, 41-14, tn extend its winning streak to 13 games, longest in the nation. The Mustangs built a 27-0 lead early in the third quarter.

Clemsoo 16, N. Carolina 13 Io Clemson, South Carolina, Bob Paulling kicked three field goals and the Clemson defense

held off North Carolina, 16-13, in a key Atlantic Coast Conference game. The victory gave the Tigers the inside track for the ACC title and an eventual major bowl bid.

State's best seasoo in decades with

a 24-10 Big Eight victory. This is the first year since 1953 in which KSU, 5-3-1 and 2-2-1 in-conference, has had five victories.

Michigan 16, Illinois 10

In Champaign, Illinois, Anthony Carter caught five passes for 125 yards, including one for a 40-yard toucbdown, to lead Michigan to a 16-10 Big Ten triumph over Illi-nois, Michigan, 7-0 in conference play, needs only one victory in its last two games to clinch the title and a Rose Bowl berth.

Northwestern 28, Michigan St. 24 lo East Lansing, Michigan, halfback Ricky Edwards tossed a flea-flieker TD pass to quarterback Sandy Schwab with 22 seconds left

to give Northwestern a 28-24 victory over Michigan State
third-and-goal situation at the Miehigan State 7-yard line, Schwab handed off to Edwards, then slipped into the left corner of the end zooe where Edwards hit him with the game-winner. The victory left the Wildcats 3-7 overall and 2-6 in Big Ten play. Michigan State (1-8) dropped into last place



Notre Dame freshman back Allen Pinkett, moving against Pitt.

aciar KOs **Auchoki** to **Retain Title**

COPENHAGEN — Argentine ntos Laciar knocked out Steve uchoki of Kenya in the 13th and Friday night to retain his nrld Buxing Association weight title.

Laciar wore the challenger down m with a ferocious left-right se-s. As Muchoki stumbled along e ropes with Laciar in pursuit, eree Richard Steele inspected a sh over the Kenyan's left eye d stooped the bout.

From the 10th round on, Muoki had lost most of his speed d mobility, constantly went into nches, was warned for holding d had little bite left in his counpunches. Laciar earned his 48th story in 64 matches, including o successful title defenses.

Eleoncio Mercedes of the Domican Republic scored a split -round decision over Mexican eddie Castillo in Los Angeles turday night to win the World xing Council flyweight title.
Judges Marty Denkin and Lou-lippo had Mercedes ahead by re-

Mercedes Decisions Castillo

ective scores of 145-140 and 145-9; judge Terry Smith had Castilahead, 144-143. Mercedes raised record to 17-6-4; Castillo, who d won the crown last summer by ocking out Prudencio Cardona, 40-12-4.



Champion Santos Laciar moves in on challenger Steve Muchoki.

NFL Strike Talks Collapse, Recessed Indefinitely By Bart Barnes The union discounted sugges the proposal available directly to

Washington Post Service NEW YORK - Talks between the National Football League and the striking NFL Players Associa-

tion collapsed Saturday night. Mediator Sam Kagel recessed the discussions indefinitely and went home to the West Coast.

The possibility grew stronger that the season might not be re-

Uotil one or both sides are pre-pared to change their positions on the economic issues of the strike. Kagel said, "it is appropriate for me to return to San Francisco." Since the strike began Sept. 20, the sides have been deeply divided over the union's demand that the players receive the bulk of their salaries according to terms set forth in a oegotiated wage scale

and management's conviction that

individual negotiations should account for most player salaries. Jack Donlan, executive director of the NFL Management Council, the league's negotiating arm, said the NFL's competition committee will have a tough decision to make" in determining at what

point the season is lost. Seven weekends of games of the regular 16-game season have already been called off because of the strike; two weekends were played before the strike began.

tions that the season might be over. "It's a scare tactle," said Mark Murphy, the player repre-sentative of the Washingtoo Red-

As be left the talks, Donlan said: "We are not close philosophically, we are not close cooceptually and we are not close economically. so it doesn't matter geographical-ly." He said be had no plans to reopen the talks until the union "has something meaningful to give

"Not only do they have to move toward us. They have to move almost all the way toward us, be-cause we are there," he said. A council official said later, however, that management would not insist nn a concession in advance from the union as a precoodition of resuming talks.

Ed Garvey, executive director of the NFLPA, said be planned to remaio in New York and wanted to resume negotiations as soon as possible. Player representatives of the NFL's 28 teams were also to stay in New York.

As he has in the past, Garvey charged that what he called the NFL's failure to bargain in good faith was responsible for collapse of the talks. He noted that the general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board has filed a complaint charging the league with bad-faith bargaining. "Once they realize that this shot has misfired, then maybe they will be ready to bargain," Garvey said. "The NLRB has been unable in

get them to bargain and now the mediator has been unable to get them to bargain." Garvey said he planned to be in

touch with the management council to get the talks moving again.
Collapse of the talks followed cight days of Kagel's unsuccessful attempts to mediate the dispute here after a one-week recess that followed 12 days of mediation at-

tempts in Maryland. The strike was in its 48th day Sunday. Saturday night, management negotiators handed the union a 75page comprehensive proposal that admittedly was a compilation of proposals already put on the bar-gaining table. Union negotiators angrily denounced the package, and shortly thereafter Kagel called

Donlan said four-page summaries of the management plan have been sent to all NFL member clubs and will be available for player inspection should any want to see one. He said he hoped the players could vote on whether to accept the proposal, but that he had no power to compel such an

the players violates federal labor laws, and it said it would file an additional complaint against the NFL with the NLRB.

Donlan contended that the current round of mediation included major areas of movement on the part of management. The union angrily disputed that.

Among the major areas of movement on management's part, according to the NFL:

 Agreement to a player wage scale beginning with \$30,000 a year for rookies and increasing at the rate of \$10,000 a year of expe-rience for 20 years. Management says that would cost the NFL \$106 million in base salaries a year and that the base salaries would be supplemented by individual nego-tiations. Management also is offering severance pay, fied to the wage scale, for players with four years of experience or more,

• A "mooey-now" offer to the players that would give those with at least four years' experience bonuses of \$60,000 each upoo signing of a collective bargaining agreement. Players with less experience would get bonuses of \$30,000, \$20,000 or \$10,000. The league says that would cost \$60

e Doubling of post-season playoff mocey so that players on a

winning Super Bowl team would get \$64,000 each; \$70,000 if they got to the Super Bowl by playing nn a wild-card team.

 A plan under which players would be eligible for up to an extra \$15,000 a year on the basis of downs played and participation on teams that are statistical leaders in various categories.

The union cootends the management offer falls short of the mark io most areas. It is asking \$91 million in "money-oow" bonuses this year, packaged so that veteran players would receive larger bonuses than younger ones.

It says management's wage scale offer is inadequate because it leaves too much room for individual negotiation; only 94 of 1,500 NFL players would actually have their salaries increased if the management plan is implemented, the union says.

The union also wants severance pay available to players after one year in the league. It says waiting until the fourth year would give NFL owners an incentive to cut players after their third year.

Management contends accepting the union's proposal would cause most of the NFL clubs to lose money. The sides are \$250 million apart for the 1983 and 1984 seasons, according to Don-

NBA Standings

EASTERN CONFERENCE WESTERN CONFERENCE isos city
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Secret 112, New York No. 17 formpoon 35, Six-ms 27; Correction 14, Corr, Robinson 14), Besten 104, Weshinston 97 (Bird 21, Penrish 20; Bollear 23, Ruland 16), Daties 118, Kensen, City 113 (Blackman 23, Rossey 117; S. Johnson 36, Orew 117), All teleprocess 11, Wined

delphia 120, Detroit 109 (Matone 28, Erv-

Philodelphila 128, Detroll 109 (Matone 28, Erving 21; Themas 24, Trispecko 21).
New Jersev 99, Clevetand 91 (Birdsona 27, Cook 19; Edwards 23, Rabinson 16).
San Antonio 105, Golden State 104 (Gilmore 28, Gervin 22; Carroll 22, Sanot, Free 21).
Saturday's Results
Chicaso 129, Son Diego 124 (Theus 30, Corzine 17; Hollina 2), Curamings 20),
Washinston 119, Indiana 115 (Ballard 26, Rusina 20; Knipti 28, Kelloga 25).
Denver 127, Galden State 118 (English 27, Issel 23; Smith 22, Start 19).
Phoenic 112, Dallay 100 (Johnson 22, Lucas 21;

Affanta 25. Vertett 19. (Wilkins 29. Roundfield 2) Laimbeer, Thomas 16. Trisucka 15). Las Angeles 104. Utab 101 Ljohnson, Abdus-labbar 22. Nibon 18; Griffith 23. Scharyes 22. Jacobr 22. North 16; Griff 22 Scharjes 221-Portional)10, New York 102 (Pesson 33, Valen-tine 24; Cartwitcht 27, Wallams 18). Philadelphila 119. Boston)15 (Erving, Malone 28. Toney 24: Parish 25, Bird 21).

NHL Standings

WALES CONFERENCE

. 17

Priday's Results
St. Louis 4, Woshington 3 (Federico (5), Turn-bull (8), Dyntos (4), Sulfur (9); Maruk (4), Gerther (7); Morott (4), Edmonton 5, N.Y. Rodgers) (Gregg (2), Hughes (0), Lumitry (4), Gretsky (10), Huddy (4); McCloriohon (3)).

Sotyraby's Results
Suffete 5. Hartford 2 (Peterson (3), Molier 2
(3), Perrecult 2 (8): Francis (4), Lorouche (7),
New Jersey 1, Defroit 1 (Maria) (7); Compbell
(11),
Toronto 3, St. Louis 3 (Derkap 14), Duris (1),
Ityacok (5): Carlson (2), Rosinge (2), Petfers(7))

Throcok (5): Corteon (4), son (7)).
Suebac 4, Minnesoto 1 (Morois (2), M. Storiny (1), Deven (6)). Stastny (6); Payne (6)). Sneets 2, Coleary 2 (Allieon (3), Payet-Meredith (4), Reinbort (3)).

2 | 10). A. Stashny (6) ; Payne (6).
N.Y. Romers 2, Colpany 2 (Alieon (3). Payelich (9); Aleradith (4). Reinbart (3)).
Philodelenka A. N.Y. Isjonders 2 (Kerr (8).
Flackhart 2 (7). Barber (6). Holmsren (4).
Clarke (7); Kollur (2). Potvin (4). Trottler (11)).
Mantreal 4, Vancouver 2 (Walter (8). Nasional
(5). Wetter 2 (9); Molia (4). Hinka (5)).
Las Argelea 6. Pittsburch 2 (Nicholis (15).
Diona (5). Wells (1). Fax 2 (9). Kelly (1); Snedden 2 (41).

SPORTS BRIEFS

LONDON (AP)— Barbara Potter rallied from within two points of defeat Saturday to spark the United States to its fourth straight triumph over Britain in the Wightman Cup.

Down a set and trailing, 5-1, in the tie-breaker of the second, Potter overcame Jo Durie 5-7, 7-6, 6-2. That produced an insurmountable 4-1

U.S. lead in the best-of-seven-match series. Chris Evert Lloyd then downed Sue Barker, 6-4, 6-3, and Potter and

Sharon Walsh wrapped up the 6-1 victory by beating Virginia Wade and Barker, 2-6, 6-4, 6-4. Drurie broke Potter's service in the 11th game of the first set and held

5-1 edge, but Potter then hit a spectacular forehand cross-court return that turned the match. She went oo to win the tie breaker, 9-7, and broke Phoents: 112, Dullos: 100 Liohnson 22, Lucos 21: in the third and eighth games of the final set.

Committee 20, Vincent 19). Durie and Anne Hobbs had teamed to defeat Rosemary Casals and

Borg Wins Australian Round Robin

erge as the round-robin event's only undefeated contestant. The Swedish player had already locked up first place by defeating Czechoslovak Ivan Lendl in straight sets Sarurday, and declared himself ahead of schedule in his comeback after his 3-6, 6-4, 7-5, 6-2 victory over McEnroe. "I didn't expect to be playing as well as this until about

MIAMI (UPI) — Eugene (Mercury) Morris, once a star running back with the Miami Dolphins of the National Football League, was convict-A jury of four men and two women found Morris guilty on one count of trafficking in cocaine, one count of conspiracy to traffic in the drug and two counts of possession. The trafficking conviction carries a man-

datory penalty of at least 15 years in prison.
"I feel bad for you, Merc. I'm just sorry," said Circuit Judge Ellen
Morphonios Gable, who set sentencing for Jan. 20 and ordered Morris held without bond until then.



hen St. Louis goalie Glen Hanlon lost his stick at 4:29 of Friday's second period, Mike Gartner il only to flip the puck into the net for a 2-1 Washington lead. But the Blues tied the game nimutes later and, on Brian Sutter's decisive goal in the third period, defeated the Capitals, 4-3.

أنجمت والمميع وجرو أكسمه مراء والله سنستنصف ووالياج المتنبول والمتهود والمتناه المراشية

Friedry's Resents
low York 149 (Thompson 30. Sixlow 124, Orr., Robbisco 14),
low 124, Orr., Robbisco 14),
Porrish 20;
U.S. Takes Wightman Cup, 6-1

for a one-set edge. In the second-set tie breaker, Durie moved out to ber

Anne Smith, 6-3, 2-6, 6-2, Friday night for Britain's only victory.

SYDNEY (UPI) — Björn Borg defeated John McEnroe of the United States in the final phase of a four-man tournament here Sunday to em-

December or even January," said Borg.
Second place went to Lendl, who defeated American Vitas Gerulaitis, 7-5, 6-3, 6-4, Sunday. Gerulaitis and McEnroe finished third and fourth. respectively.

Morris Convicted on Cocaine Charges

ed late Friday on charges of cocaine trafficking, cocaine possession and conspiracy. Morris's attorney announced that he would appeal.

Transactions BASEBALL .

SEATTLE-Added Jed Morray and Ma Young, pitchers, Jamie Netser, acticher; Jamie Alten, third baseman; Darnell Coles, shortston and Rod Alten, tran Calderen and Gled Watter, outfielders to its 40-man region Assigned Larry Anderson, pitcher; Dan Fireva, cutcher; Gory Groy and Dans Revering, first basemen; Pgul Serna, shortston; Steve Streeghter; Joe Simpson and Thad Bosley, outfielders to its minor league

Notional Learns
MEW YORK—Released Roady Jones, Pitcher
Added Jeff Bittleer and Scott Dre, pitchers
Dannyl Strawberry and Bitty Seans, cutfletelst
and Albu Davis, Infelder, so its 40-mon rector.
PITTSBURGH—Assigned Jimeny Smitt and History Norman, short-base, to the minor resource and surchased the contract of Jeff Zazica, pitcher, from Alexandria of the Corolina Ladaue.

ST. LOUIS—Purchased Jees Brito and Ricky Horlors Stychers, from Louisvilla of the American Association, Keylin Hosses, pitcher, from Agentalia of the American Association, Keylin Hosses, pitcher, from Agentalia. can Association; Revin Hosein Pricinic, and Ariesta kinness of the Texas League; and Terry Clark, shicher, treat St. Petersburg of the Florida State League; Andy Von Stytu, cuffelder, from Ar-surasso, Assipted Oriento Sonder, catcher, Mike Colles, first beternan; and Joe DeSa, out-ficiate to selectific.

telder to Louisville, HOCKEY LOS ANGELES-Signed VI

> More Sports On Page 21



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LANGUAGE

Those Creepy Feelings

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — Tammy Wynette, the country singer, was the star performer at a White House barbecue for friendly congressmen. She belted out Stand By Your Man" with her arm around the president of the United States.

Asked later how he felt during the experience, Mr. Reagan replied gallantly, "I had goosebumps,"

An icy tingle crept along my skin when I saw that response in print: Could it be that the president was using a euphemism? That roughened condition of the skin caused by the erection of papillae is usually called goosepimples— was goosebimps a way of saying the same word without the ugly

traced by Mitford Mathews in his Dictionary of Americanisms to 1867, a variant of gooseflesh, prob-ably first used in 1810 by the English poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge. The words denote in humans what is often called horripilation in animals — a bristling of the hairs in fear or anger — which shares a root with horrible. Humans experience what Johnny Mercer, in "That Old Black Magic," called "those icy fingers up and down my spine," caused by cold, fear, sexual excitation, patriotic fervor or gustatory anticipation.

Dialect geography comes through with evidence of what that deliciously creepy feeling is called throughout the United States.

"Goosepimples is by far the most common response," reports Joan Hall, associate editor of DARE, the soon to be published Dictionary of American Regional English, "with goosebumps being offered about half as frequently. Gooseflesh comes in a distant third." No geographic distinction shows itself, but older people tend to say goose-flesh, while younger people lean toward goosebumps.

Joan Hall makes gooseflesh a single word, and uses two words for goosepimples and goosepimps; other lexicographers differ. Here comes my decision on the oneword versus two-word controversy on gooseflesh-related matters. In each case, use one word. All three variants are collectives - nobody

ever gets one goosebump. Lexicographic Irregulars across the country are going to read this and say, "Why that city boy is talkin' about chicken skin. Or duck bumps, thrill bumps, chilly bumps,

he's about to sprout feathers. Or he's got prickles, pins and needles, French knots, eggerbumps, ash spots, white measles or chill bugs." As Tammy Wynette would sing: Stand by your dialect, man.

COUNTRY MUSIC vocalists are not all Republicans. When Mac Davis performed his latest release, "The Beer Drinkin' Song," at the annual awards show of the Country Music Association, he drew a gasp from the 4,400 stompin' spectators when he sang that one of the things that would drive a man to drink was Reaganomics.

George Bush, campaigning for president in 1980, described candidate Reagan's supply-side theories as voodoo economics; two years lat-er, Urban League President John Jacob was saying that Reaganomics is giving voodoo a bad name."
In the summer of 1969, I wrote a

memorandum for my White House colleagues using the term Nixo-nomics to hail the ingenious replacement of the Democrats' "new economics." About that time, columnists Evans and Novak were the first to use Nixonomics in print. Walter Heller, a father or the "new economics" was quoted in Time magazine in November 1969, using Nixonomics disparagingly. Since that time, the term has fallen on hard times.

The key to the phrasemaking was the n at the end of Nixon, which matched the n at the end of econ and produced a word easy to say. During the Ford years, the combining form lay dormant, though there was a half-hearted effort at Fordonomics. In Carter's time, Cartemomics was occasionally used, but it did not sing; Jimmynomics was also used to disparage the president's economic policy. Nothing really caught on after Nixonomics because the n was lacking at the end of the presi-

dent's name. Along came Reagan and the rush of usage of Reaganomics seems to have overcome previous barriers. It also changed the way economics is split: what used to be econ-omics is now eco-nomics, and whatever word or name you like can be used in place of the eco. Hence, Volckernomics, Trudeaunomics, even - shades of back-for-

mation — Hoovernomics Personally, I resist the use of any -nomics coinage that has no n

New York Times Service

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The Music Gulf: 'Pop' vs. 'Serious' By John Rockwell

New York Times Service
NEW YORK — There is a disturbing officing the In the time in the world of music. That is the gulf between the popular and the elite — between so-called "serious" art music on the one hand, and jazz and rock on the other. There is always such a range, in any art form, but music seems more polarized now than the other arts. Fortunately, there are a few signs that the gulf may be narrowing.

Human expression in any art ranges from the most unself-con-

sciously folkish and broadly pop-ular to the most purely artistic — "artistry" itself being a conception rooted in Western notions of individualism. "High art" is not necessarily more complex or elaborate than "lower" forms, although there is a tendency in our scientifically oriented society for that assumption to be made. The very idea of "highbrow,"
"middlebrow" and "lowbrow"
art is a mirror of class hierarchy: for aristocrats, the refined and elegant; for the bourgeoisie, the sturdy and vital; for the workers and peasants, the crude and

In Bach's day, folk and popular music were regarded as little more than quaint by the educated classes, reflecting the subservient role of the lower orders (or it was idealized from afar by the likes of Rousseau and Herder). Today, every man has a vote. Divisions of musical taste reflect not only artistic opinion, but also differences of generation, race and sta-

There is no objective way to determine what is high and what is low, and ever since the populist burst of the '60s, some intellectuals have persisted in devoting a high degree of respect to what most others consider to be low art. These matters are ultimately determined by consensus: high art is what a majority of taste-makers over time think it is, and in the most dramatic cases -Bach, for example — the consensus becomes so complete as to create the comforting illusion of objective truth.

Today, in every art, particular types of work attract particular andiences. People who huddle together for poetry readings in a

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church are not likely to read the latest Judith Krantz novel on the subway. Youngsters who flock to "E.T." don't necessarily turn up gard rockers as the barbarians at the gates.

A pluralistic society such as at an Albanian film retrospective. But such divisions — violent antagonisms might be a more accu-

Some of the divisions in music reflect long-standing differences of style, and are thus likely to continue. There is no reason, for instance, why an opera fan, who thrills to spectacle and the sound of the voice, should like chamber music. Critics, whose business it is to traipse dutifully from one kind of concert to the next, have often remarked how little overlap there is between audiences for

rate - seem more extreme in mu-

The yawning gulf between high and low in music puts it at vari-ance with the tendencies in most of the other arts today. In film, theater, literature, dance and even the visual arts, there is more of a continuum between the extremes. The same institutions sponsor a wider range of work; the same critics consider it analytically, audiences are more

one sort of event and those for

In music, there has been an almost complete split between the two extremes. Classical artists rarely play popular repertory and vice versa; there are separate concert promoters, record compames, music publishers and journals; separate newspaper critics for classical and popular. Pop fans look on classical music as

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the home of doddering irrelevance; classical-music lovers re-

ours can tolerate every extreme, and also tolerate people who choose to ignore one end or the other, if a poet wishes to worry only about poetry, and ignore all other forms of literature, no one need berate him.

Still, there are both aesthetic and societal reasons for regret-ting the depth of the division that currently afflicts music. Aesthetically, one can argue that during the periods of music's greatest creativity, composers drew from the most diverse inspirations, and the general audience enjoyed a wider fare of music than it does today. Folk and popular music benefit from influences from the more evolved arts. And for all the arcane fascination of musical researches carried out in the pure spirit of individual or scientific exploration, most people find that music gains by an infusion of humanistic concern: that composers write better music if they care about communicating something to somebody who may not understand every technical detail

of their methodology. Societally, a divided music re-flects a divided culture. It should come as no news today that blacks, after a brief flurry of concern in the '60s, have become a too often ignored subculture once again, and that their music - be it the bigh art of jazz, the low art black-inspired rock — is once again offhandedly patronized by the culture's tastemakers. The same is true for most other forms of popular music, whether it derives from an offshoot of the white mainstream (country) or not (salsa).

A principal problem with pop-ular music for the practitioners of high art is its commercialism. Virgil Thomson, who has a more en-lightened understanding of these matters than most of us, has gone so far as to grumble that music is suspect if it makes money at all. But that is not to say that any-

thing that makes money or is popular should be scorned. As it sappens, some things that don't make money in our musical culture — a crude production of an uninteresting opera, for example
— are quite terrible, even though
they must still be subsidized and enjoy supposed high-art status. Conversely, some highly popular music has real aesthetic merit: Miles Davis's "Bitches Brew" albam, to pick one random example, or Bruce Springsteen's "Ne-braska." Not to speak of the hordes of hopelessly non-com-mercial vanguard artists whose work is branded as "pop" just because they use electric guitars or

Fortunately, there are signs that some of the divisions in music may be healing. Composers are relaxing the polemical death-grips that they had around one anothers' throats a decade ago. critics are venturing out to consider wider varieties of music Audiences and record-buyers are becoming more eclectic in their

This is hardly to say that one day soon, classical-music stations will or should play the Sex Pistols next to Bach, or that Isaac Stern will take up the electric violin. But it may mean that the creative juices will start flowing again more ruddily; that unprovable and unhelpful judgments about the comparative aesthetic value of different musical genres will fade from view; that people will open up their ears and listen to the excellences that lurk in every musical style, and that critical opinion may begin to reflect more accurately the range and viof black pop or the hybrid art of tality of music as it really is.

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Schubert and friend under "Der Lindenbaum."

VIENNA POSTCARD Schubert's Sexual Side

VIENNA — The relationship of life to artistic creativity is a legitimate subject of study in the city of Freud, but even so, an art exhibition here on the life of Franz Schubert has proven to be strong stuff in the composer's birthplace.
In his series of 49 drawings, the Viennese artist Alfred Hrdlicka takes as his point of departure that

Schubert suffered from untreated syphilis for most of his adult life, remained unmarried and had a "problematic" relationship to omen, and was constantly homeless and dependent on friends.

The more sordid aspects of Schubert's life, and its effect on his art, are not ignored in recent biographies. Maurice J.E. Brown, in

the New Grove Dictionary, specu-

phony might have remained unfinished because "the association of the composition of his symptom with the events which led to his il ness might have made a return to repugnant."

Hrdlicka's weapon is brutal in-hrdlicka's weapon is brutal in-ny. "Dreimiderthaus" is more romp in a bawdy house than demure operetta. The composi-spends a great deal of time inspening his genitals and suffering the ravages of secondary and teniary syphilis.

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